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BONAPARTE,

AND

*THE FRENCH PEOPLE*

Under his Consulate.





BONAPARTE,  
AND  
THE FRENCH PEOPLE  
UNDER HIS CONSULATE.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

*Schubert, Gustav, 1804*

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

THE circumstances attending the publication of the present work excite peculiar interest. It appeared in Germany a short time since : its sale was uncommonly rapid ; but no sooner did it reach the First Consul, than he exerted his influence with the Continental Powers, and every where succeeded in obtaining its suppression.

Bonaparte has hitherto been but imperfectly known ; and as his influence is not likely to cause its interdiction *here*, the world may yet have an opportunity of forming an estimate of the man, whose political successes have so materially contributed to agitate Europe.

It may be necessary to observe, that several quotations from public orators, as well as extracts from some French pamphlets, which were interspersed in the original, are here given as an appendix.

LONDON, June 8, 1804.



# PREFACE

BY THE AUTHOR.

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A GERMAN, of no party, not unacquainted with the former state of France, a near observer of the French revolution, sometimes absent, sometimes present, and of late its inhabitant, does not think it an unwelcome service to his countrymen, if he faithfully relate to them what he has found most remarkable and interesting during his stay at Paris. He does not aim at the honor of being ranked either among the detractors or the apologists of the present constitution and government, but will rather abstain, as much as possible, from all opprobrious terms and enthusiastic praises, with which foreign and French writers too often abound. His chief object

## PREFACE.

is, to unravel the conduct of the French government to his readers, as far as he is able to comprehend it.

Every occurrence in new-modelled France, deriving its source from that extraordinary man, who gave to it its present form, a view of his life, which may serve to establish the truth of former accounts, to correct others, and to bring some new facts to light, appeared to him the most unobjectionable way. Those readers who may desire to be informed of his military achievements, or his political transactions, will find much satisfaction in a number of great and small French publications ; in several journals published in Germany, by Archenholz, Huber, Botticher ; in the political annals of Possett, and in another journal, appearing under the general title " France."

PARIS, *in the 11th Year of the Republic.*



# BONAPARTE

## AND THE

### FRENCH PEOPLE.

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NAPOLEON Bonaparte was born the 15th of August, 1769, at Ajaccio, a small town on the western side of Corsica: he was the eldest son of a lawyer, who possessed some land near that place.

General Marboeuf, who had just finished the conquest of Corsica for France, and remained there as governor of the island, soon became an intimate friend of the family of Bonaparte, and shewed a fatherly concern for the education of young Napoleon, whom he caused to be admitted into the royal military college at Brienne, in that province of France, formerly called Champagne, to which

he was removed in the year 1779, being then ten years of age. As he was of a weakly constitution, and naturally inclined to solitude, and a stoical rigour in life, he gained but little in bodily strength, cheerfulness of mind, or social virtue, by confinement, and anxious restrictions to which the Monks, the guardians of this military cloister, thought proper to bind their pupils.

The regular hours of school excepted, he lived at first almost exclusively in his gloomy cell, where, provided with the spare furniture of a hammock, an earthen jug, and a washing-bason, he was locked up every night like other pupils, and closely watched by an inspector, patrolling all night up and down the corridor. Afterwards he used to retire to his studies to a small solitary garden, for which he had contrived to obtain some additional ground from his schoolfellows: this he had endeavoured to separate as much as possible from their possessions, and to ex-

clude every one by planting pallifadoes and shrubs around it. One day, when his school-fellows, after unsuccessfully attempting to let off some fire-works, and many of them being severely scorched, in their confusion broke through this fence to escape, he drove them back with his garden implements. He never joined in their parties and youthful sports. He was dubbed the Spartan, and retained this nickname as long as he remained in the college.

The deliverance of his native land from the French yoke was his favourite theme; and his expressions, in that respect, often betrayed in him a belief of its being his destiny happily to accomplish the plans, in which Paoli, who was then the idol of his heart, had proved unsuccessful. His schoolfellows could not provoke his anger more, than by calling him a vassal of France. He had sworn eternal hatred to the Genoese, by whom Corsica was sold to that power. One day,

when a young Corfican, newly arrived, was presented to him as a Genoese, he instantly seized him by the hair, and would have killed him, if some stronger boys had not parted them. For several weeks after, his rage always rekindled, when by chance he met this young student.

He likewise signalized himself from his schoolfellows, by a religious cast of mind, to the great satisfaction of his spiritual teachers.

The mode of instruction in this college being chiefly calculated for improvement in military art, coincided best with his inclination. Bonaparte did not profit much by the general instructions at the beginning, but soon devoted himself exclusively to the study of mathematics. He cared little about the knowledge of classic or modern languages, and still less for an acquaintance with the liberal arts and sciences; even the mechanical proficiencies of youth, as writing, riding, &c. were little regarded by him: hence he still

writes a bad, illegible hand, and is but an indifferent horseman. His greatest delight was in reading Plutarch, and the life of the Marshal Prince of Saxony, which he chose as a recreation after the regular hours of close study in mathematics.

The first friend he selected among his schoolfellows was Faucelet de Bourienne, like him a student in mathematics, and a youth who by his mild temper and pleasing bashfulness, had gained the good will of all the other boys. This Bourienne became, and always continued, first private secretary to Bonaparte, till the present year.

His moroseness, and rough behaviour, to most of his schoolfellows, exposed him to continual quarrels and battles, in which he generally suffered, being the weakest; yet he would never lodge a complaint with his rigid schoolmasters against them. He was generally their speaker and advocate in their little insurrections, and was usually singled out

and punished as the leader, when the other boys would cringe for fear of being flogged; yet the most severe chastisement could not draw a single complaint from his lips.

He even seemed to be quite indifferent at a military disgrace he once met with. The pupils were divided into companies, forming a battalion; the officers were chosen among themselves, and bore the uniform of the French regulars: Bonaparte enjoyed the rank of captain. By a court martial, summoned on the occasion, and proceeding with all due form and solemnity, he was declared unworthy of the command over his comrades, and condemned to be reduced to the ranks. He heard this sentence read to him, and suffered himself quietly to be stripped of his insignia, as an officer, without ever betraying the least symptom of sorrow.

From that period he began to join in the sports of the younger boys, where they shewed him an uncommon partiality. He in-



fructed them in a kind of game, modelled after the Olympic and Roman contentions in the circus ; but these sports soon ended in real fights and bloody noses. The leader was chastised, and this new sort of diversion abolished.

Bonaparte then relapsed into his former morose and solitary life, when in the hard winter of the year 1783, his natural propensity to trials in fortification, roused in him the idea of building a small fort with snow. With the common garden utensils, assisted by his most zealous comrades, he completed a regular square, with four bastions on its corners, surrounded by a wall, three feet six inches high, of which the remains, hardened by the frost, were still discernible in the month of May.

After a stay of five years at this school, and having undergone the annual examination of the royal inspector, the latter found him so well versed in the art of fortification,

that he thought fit to send him to the great military college at Paris, where he arrived on the 17th of October, 1784.

There he continued in his wonted austerity, and in the exclusive application to the study of mathematics. By the instructions of the celebrated Monges, he profited in such a manner, as to be promoted into the corps of artillery after his first examination. Among 300 pupils then at the college, he chose for his more intimate friends, Lauriston, who was of a phlegmatic temper, and Dupont, an audacious youth. He generally spent his leisure hours in one of the bastions of a small fort, called "Lieu brune," and built for the use of the pupils at the top of their usual walk. There, leaning on the parapet, with the works of Vauban, Cohorn, and Folard, by his side, he drew plans for the attack and defence of this small fort. He entered the regiment of artillery called "la Fere," garrisoned at Auxone, as lieutenant, in July, 1785,



and there usually passed the greater part of the day in the precincts of the fortification, and half the night in reading military books. His predilection for republican liberty brought him into many disputes and troubles: one of his comrades challenged him once on that account; but the matter was amicably settled through the interference of friends. Another time, whilst walking by the side of a river with his fellow officers, he declared himself an enemy to the king, and provoked their anger to such a degree, that they were on the point of throwing him in, which he very narrowly escaped.

By the death of General Marboeuf, in the year 1786, he lost that support and protection, which alone could render his stay at the regiment agreeable and advantageous, he therefore returned to his mother in Corsica.

In the year 1790, when a revolution broke out in Corsica, he was made commander of a battalion of national guards, at Ajaccio.

Paoli looking on him as a dangerous enemy to his selfish plans, drove him with his family back to France, where they arrived in the year 1793.

Bonaparte re-entered the corps of artillery. At the siege of Toulon, whilst serving a field-piece, with nothing but dead bodies lying around him, he was espied by the representatives Barras and Freron, who instantly committed to him the defence of a redoubt of importance.

Barras, an experienced commander, soon found fault with the pointing of the guns in this battery; but Bonaparte bade him mind his own affairs, as representative of the people, and leave the care of this redoubt to him.

After the taking of Toulon, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and sent to Nizza; but Aubry, the deputy, displaced him soon after, and sent him into prison as a terrorist.

Being released, it was intended to give him

a commission in the infantry, but he hastened to Paris to lodge his complaints. Finding no redress, he demanded his discharge, and leave to go to Constantinople, but was refused both. On the insurrection of the Parisians, on the bloody and ever memorable days of the 4th and 5th of October, 1795, he headed the troops as second in command under Barras: tranquillity being restored, the command of the army of the interior was entrusted to him.

Soon after he married the chere amie of Barras, the widow of General Beauharnois, who died under the guillotine. By this marriage he obtained a fortune of 500,000 livres, and the chief command of the Italian army. He found it in a most deplorable state, but by cunning and successful enterprises, he restored discipline, and supplied the wants of the troops. At the battle of Lodi he betrayed, for the first time, that military stubbornness, which does not scruple about

the sacrifice of human blood. He conquered Lombardy. The Venetians provoked his anger by an unqualified support of the Austrians. He marched against Rome and Naples; shewing outwardly respect and moderation towards the Pope, he granted an armistice; and the most precious monuments of art, the choicest treasures of the libraries in the vatican, and cabinets of the princes, were delivered up to France for ever.

Near Castiglione he is defeated for the first time; but this reverse only increases his boldness in the attack of Lonado, which is followed by another victory near Roveredo. At Arcola he and Augereau experience the first resistance of French troops to obey their commands; they refuse to pass the bridge as they had done at Lodi, seeing certain death before their eyes. He alters the plan of attack, and fights the bloody battles near Arcola and Rivoli, with still greater fury. Mantua surrenders on the 2d of February, 1797. Bonaparte proceeds

to the frontiers of Tyrol, and after the surrender of the fortress Klagenfurt marches on towards Vienna. His light troops approach at the distance of twenty leagues, but the Venetians fall upon the small garrisons and the wounded who were left behind. His wrath rekindles at this treachery.

The emperor sued for peace: Preliminaries were signed at Leoben, in 1797; and the Venetians, the oldest republicans of Europe, were delivered over to him.

Bonaparte returned to Paris, and was received like a Saviour; he was named plenipotentiary to the congress of Radstadt; but he discovered on both sides a desire to prolong the negotiations for peace, and hastened back to Paris, where new honors and the highest praises were profusely bestowed upon him. He was promoted to the chief command of an expedition, seemingly directed against England. He pretended to employ his time in scientific pursuits, yet in fact he planned the conquest of

Egypt: the weak directory, fearing his popularity, most readily entered into this measure. Spurred on by jealousy, they employed all possible means to prepare a grand expedition, at once scientific and military. The treasury of the city of Bern, being supposed to be far richer than subsequent experience proved, was intended to defray the expences of the enterprize. This mis-calculation decided the fate of the poor Swiss, who had given offence to the uncontrolled warrior, by their anxiously endeavouring to prevent the marching of his troops through their territories.

In the month of May, 1798, a fleet of one hundred and ninety-four sail, with 40,000 of the best French troops, under the command of their ablest generals (many learned men, artists, and mechanics accompanying them,) set out from Toulon. Bonaparte had a most miraculous escape from the English fleet: he possessed himself of Malta by his artfulness and force, left it on the 20th of June for



Egypt, and again escaped the vigilance of Nelson's squadron, then only a few leagues off.

Before landing, he issued a proclamation, recommending to his troops a respectful behaviour towards the Mahomedans and the female sex. He laid Alexandria under contribution, and marched on to Cairo without delay; but met with an unexpected resistance from the well-mounted and warlike Mamelukes. By an expert manœuvre, he made a dreadful havoc, and dispersed them. Cairo was taken, and the soldiers gained an immense booty, chiefly by possessing themselves of the property of the Mamelukes. Bonaparte pursued Ibrahim Bey into Syria, converted like a Turk near the grand pyramid "des chops" with the Turkish chiefs, and declared himself a friend and adorer of Mahomed. Whilst he was successfully attacking Murad Bey in several battles, though not without loss, the extortions and cruelties with which the con-

tributions were levied, caused an insurrection of the inhabitants of Cairo, many of whom were butchered ; Bonaparte restored order, and afterwards framed a new constitution for Egypt.

He proceeded to Syria, took Jaffa by storm, besieged the fortress of Saint Jean d'Acre, defended by the English and Turks. After a bombardment of sixty days—after many battles, and repeated unsuccessful assaults, he was compelled to retreat with his reduced army to Cairo. He re-possest himself of the fort Aboukir, and prepared clandestinely to leave Egypt.

Lucien Bonaparte had found means to keep up a correspondence with his brother, by the way of England ; he had acquainted him with the miserable state of the interior of France, and with the disorganization of the armies, every where defeated. The jealous directory, far from sending him any intelligence, endeavoured as much as they could to



keep him in the most profound ignorance of the political state of Europe.

The English knew probably of his design to quit Egypt, but suffered him to do so, fully persuaded, that with the departure of the contriver of this expedition, the whole would inevitably fail. With a squadron of two frigates and two smaller vessels, he set sail in sight of the English fleet, on the 23d of August, 1799, after having appointed, by a sealed order, Kleber to the chief command, and Doffaix to the command in Upper Egypt. He met but one English frigate at sea, and landed at Ajaccio, his native place, on the 30th of September; after quelling an insurrection there, he hastened to Fréjus, and thence to Paris. His journey resembled a triumph.

Bonaparte found France in a most deplorable state, under her impotent and disunited directory: she was perhaps approaching her total dissolution: her broken finances could no longer be held up by legal extortions and

forced loans. The armies wanted every thing, and were every where defeated.

The two directors, Barras and Sieyes, thought to avail themselves of his courage, enterprising genius, and good fortune, in order to promote their different private views ; but the two brothers, more cunning and dexterous in the pursuit of their object, knew how to make the authority of the two former subservient to their design.

Bonaparte seemed willing to wait till the first enthusiasm of the people had subsided ; and not at all anxious to avail himself of it, he was in fact prying into the secret state of affairs, and the true character of the directors and leading members of the two legislative councils. He was also forced to delay the execution of his plan, till his brother Lucien could be made president of the Council of Five Hundred.

Sieyes had exerted himself in forming a kind of provisional government, which he

meant to trust into the hands of several persons on whom he could depend ; for he neither thought himself, Barras, nor any of the five directors, fully capable of being sole dictator. He relied on the audacity and resolute mind of Bonaparte, who was to be sent to Italy to reap new laurels, after having realised his plan. Rœderer and Talleyrand served as messengers between Sieyes and Bonaparte. Only a few of the council of the ancients, and of the five hundred, were in the secret.

On the 8th of November, at the early hour of six in the morning, every member of the council of the ancients, on whom dependance could be placed, received a card of invitation ; and at eight o'clock they assembled in the palace of the Thuilleries, where they decreed, " That the legislative bodies should remove to St. Cloud, and meet there the following morning." General Bonaparte was charged with the execution of this decree by the council of ancients, and intrusted with the command of

the guards of the legislative body, with the 17th division of regulars.

A few hours after, two addressees from Bonaparte, the one to the inhabitants of Paris, the other to the soldiery, were stuck up at every corner of the streets. The whole tenor of them betrayed the hurry in which they were drawn up. In the address directed to the soldiers, Bonaparte already ventured to use the following terms: "For the two last years the affairs of the republic have been badly managed. You were in hopes that my return would put a stop to many evils." In the council of ancients he exclaimed, in the presence of the directors Sieyes and Roger Ducos, "We demand a republic, founded on the principles of liberty, equality, and national representation." Of the existing constitution, to which all had sworn, no mention was made. A small pamphlet was designedly written, and distributed gratis, to ease the minds of the Parisians from a fear of Bonaparte's intending

to act the part of Cæsar or Cromwell. The council of five hundred assembled about noon at their wonted place ; but being informed of the removal of their fittings to St. Cloud, and directed to assemble there on the following morning, they were advised to depart ; to which they submitted, the 103d article of the constitution authorising such a removal.

The five hundred assembled the next morning at St. Cloud, almost without the exception of a single member. There they commenced an unexpected and violent opposition, by taking an oath for the maintenance of the constitution. Lucien Bonaparte, their president, was most grossly insulted, and commanded to outlaw his brother : he shewed great self-command, and displayed much eloquence, till the fit moment of resigning his presidency arrived.

Napoleon Bonaparte, after having previously made every preparation for military support, entered the council of the ancients ; but

he did not find there so many votes in his favour as he expected. However, giving them to understand, that the God of war and his good fortune would still protect him, he retired; yet, after his departure, it was moved, that a new oath should be taken for the maintenance of the constitution.

Lucien Bonaparte had demanded in the assembly of the five hundred, that his brother might be heard; the latter now entered, but was loaded with abuse and reproaches and desired to withdraw. Many ocular witnesses deny that daggers were drawn. The multitude pressed forward, bitterly inveighing against his behaviour; his friends surrounded him, and covered his retreat. Bonaparte then addressing the troops before the palace, bade them disperse the mad assembly by force; General Murat, brother in law to Bonaparte, rushed into the assembly at the head of the grenadiers. Lucien had just laid down the insignia of the president, and resigned. The



first care of the grenadiers was to secure him ; which being accomplished, they ordered the assembly to disperse ; they were not however over-awed immediately. Many of the members addressing the soldiers, conjured them in the name of liberty not to follow their leaders, who aimed at the destruction of the republic. General Murat ordered the drums to beat, drowning thus at once their voices and clamours: tired with their obstinacy he encircled the assembly on the right and left by an artful manœuvre, and the grenadiers drove them with the bayonet through all the avenues, windows, and doors of the hall.

Bonaparte in the mean time was busily employed. By marches and counter-marches he adroitly kept the troops in continual motion, in order to avoid their being corrupted. He was present every where, and spared neither flatteries, obliging words, nor specious promises, which made but too favourable an impression on the soldiers, ill provided and

naked as they were. "Vive Bonaparte!" was the general cry, when their beloved leader had finished his harangue.

Nevertheless the unexpected and violent resistance of the five hundred, had greatly shaken him; he lost his temper; and contrary to his former custom he broke forth into the most violent exclamations and threats. A captain of the guards, having entered the council, offered to execute a decree, by which it was declared, that the grenadiers were not under the command of Bonaparte; he instantly broke him.

Lucien Bonaparte, who seemed hitherto to have kept his temper, now powerfully urged his brother to avail himself of the triumph of the moment, whilst he was going into the council of ancients to refute the charges made against them.

At night both the legislative bodies, who had been prevented from leaving St. Cloud, assembled again, but of the five hundred,



scarcely two thirds were present. The latter decreed at last "that the directory had ceased to exist," that the provisional government of the state should be committed to Sieyes, Roger Ducos, and General Bonaparte: "that the latter shall bear the title of consul," that twenty five members, chosen from the two legislative bodies before their adjournment, be added to them as a subordinate council of state.

The new consuls took the usual oath of liberty, and equality, in the assembly of five hundred. The same decree met with opposition in the council of ancients, but was carried at last, and the new consuls were sworn in. Two proclamations, the one from Bonaparte, the other from the minister of police, Fouché, informed the people on the next morning of these events, and the new government entered into their functions without further resistance.

Bonaparte had now reached the plenitude of power; thirty millions of his fellow-crea-

tures obeyed him : he was uncontrolled and secure ; all parties pressed forward to join him ; tired with their long, continued strifes and numberless disorders, all looked up to him, in the hopes of security and happiness ; all confided in the republican hero, who had even attempted to disseminate knowledge and freedom through the deserts of Africa. It was a happy moment : no hero, no legislator, in ancient or modern history, had ever been so successful. All was prepared ; the materials of a glorious constitution for mankind were at hand—ready at the disposal of a truly great man, who, forgetful of his own interest, only studied the good of mankind : but Bonaparte was not this great man—his was not this noble aim. Whether he was actuated by that thirst of power, by which men of strong minds and uncontrollable activity are usually impelled ; or by his conviction of the French being incapable of freedom ; Bonaparte was only courageous ; having no

other view than to establish himself sole ruler.

A new constitution, as it was called, by which all public functions were to be subordinate to him, was introduced on the 15th of December; by it all authority was vested in the hands of one single man. And this same constitution was but a tool, which he might lay aside whenever he chose: a legislative body, without the power of imposing laws: a tribunate, with full powers to make complaints, which the government had a right to disregard: a senate, incapable of enforcing its decrees—these were the bulwarks against the despotism of a man, in whose hands all executive power was lodged, who could propose laws, and even annihilate at once the constitution altogether.

Sieyes becoming importunate with his many new proposals and speculations, was speedily silenced, and politically killed by the weight of national property; by the acceptance

and enjoyment of which he has lost the confidence of all those who formerly esteemed him as a disinterested patriot of incorruptible morals.

Bonaparte might have chosen the title, by which he alone was to take the helm of government, but he preferred the appearance of republicanism, and plurality of rulers. Two consuls, pliable men, expert in some branches of political œconomy, of which the First Consul was totally ignorant—Cambacérès, an experienced lawyer, and Lebrun, a well known financier, were selected to be his coadjutors.

For his ministers and counsellors of state, he chose, along with his two brothers, many generals who had signalized themselves chiefly in the war under his command; the most distinguished of the writers and leaders of parties, and even some professional and learned men, on whose political principles and entire submission he could rely. Many lucrative places were given to noblemen who had remain-

ed in France, even to emigrants, great numbers of whom were soon after allowed to return.

Thus he hoped to have satisfied all parties, and this plan answered the purpose at first. Every one busy with his new place, or with comfortable arrangements for the future, lost sight of the proceedings of government. Foreigners, who were not forced to declare for any man, or any party, and thus escaped the general rage, could alone make their observations, with coolness and impartiality; and during the whole French revolution, they saw plainly, to the disgrace of France, that it was the shuttle-cock of contending parties. The whole nation was sometimes led away by crafty and self-interested politicians, and its attention fixed on objects that had no connexion with the real plan of the latter. They went on with security, whilst the multitude were zealously contending for trifles. They were now, however, all disgusted and exhausted. After having tried every experiment, after

many vain struggles for the attainment of their grand point, comfort and tranquillity, they all panted for repose, they anxiously looked for the man who would secure it to them. A man, full of energy, who had pushed himself forward in spite of all parties and impediments, by his unexampled audacity: whose sole aim, as it seemed, was to promote the real happiness of all, could not be trusted with too much power, as he might the better satisfy their desires. They therefore granted him every thing.

Some public writers certainly raised their voices, to put a stop to this blind confidence in one man, and to rouse the deluded multitude. Lacratelle, the elder, tried to warn the new dictator. Cæsar, said he, made himself dictator, and under this title, annihilated the Roman republic. Sylla had before him availed himself of a similar power, to chastise the unbridled populace, and to restore the majesty of the senate. The former fell a sacrifice to



his ambition during his dictatorship ; the latter resigned, and lived in peace among those inhabitants who had been the witnesses of his cruelties. Many other French writers followed, but their efforts were fruitless ; their voices were not heard.

Flushed by his good fortune : proud of his new dignity, Bonaparte thought fit to write personally, on the 26th of December, to the King of England, and the Emperor of Germany, without observing the usual forms. He received no answer. The minister for foreign affairs, Talleyrand, sent a note to Lord Grenville, in which, after taking a retrospective view of past events, preliminaries of peace were offered. Lord Grenville answered it, though by no means in such a manner as to give satisfaction. He noticed the aggression of France—the unsettled state of religion—the necessity of a government in which confidence might be placed ; this language was highly displeasing, and war therefore was resolved on.



Bonaparte, in order to be able to act with more energy against his foreign enemies, tried all the arts of cunning, force, mildness, and rigour, to tranquilise the party in La Vendée, and to get rid of a domestic enemy, who had always been an unconquerable and formidable opponent. General Bernadotte, who had already shewn himself a friend, by keeping his troops inactive on the 3d and 4th of October, now effectually assisted Bonaparte, and they succeeded.

Massena was equally successful in the execution of his plans against the Austrians and Russians in Switzerland. He marched forward into Italy, but thought it prudent to avoid attacking an enemy superior in force, and shut himself up in Genoa. Moreau was more successful; he penetrated into the heart of Austria, forced his opponents to abandon their plans, and take such positions as he chose to assign them; and thus prepared for Bonaparte the decisive moment in which

he might, by a bold stroke, bring the whole to a final conclusion.

An army of reserve of 30,000 conscripts having been assembled on the 7th of March, near Dijon, and having increased to 50,000 by the return of the Vendean army, and many volunteers, Bonaparte led them on in person, and passed mount St. Bernard. This passage through the Alps, though not to be compared with Hannibal's famous enterprise, still will it ever be recorded in modern history as equally remarkable. Whether we consider the habits of life in men, their manner of warfare, and the times in which these great events severally took place, they are both alike extraordinary. The passages of the Simplon and mount St. Gotthard, were effected at the same time. The passage of the Po was forced by several bodies of troops : an engagement took place near Montobello; and Tortona was besieged in consequence. It was the good fortune of Bonaparte that brought General Dessaix from

Egypt into his camp. At this moment the position and manœuvres of the enemy on the morning of the 14th of June, 1800, pointed out Marengo, a village between Tortona and Alexandria, as the spot that was to decide a battle for which Bonaparte was not at all prepared.

The Austrians had retreated the day before, and seemed willing to avoid an engagement; but General Melas saw the French army, under Massena, approaching very fast upon him; from another side, he was in danger of being between two fires; he therefore instantly changed his resolution, and drew a masterly plan of battle. At first, the defeat of the whole French army seemed inevitable: they thought themselves already vanquished, and General Berthier had given orders to sound the retreat. It was then that Bonaparte threw himself amidst the fugitives: he inspired the officers and soldiers with new courage, and ordered them to close in with the corps of reserve just moving forward, under the com-

mand of General Deffaix. Convinced that every thing dear to him depended on the issue of this battle, he exposed his life to the most imminent danger, amidst the thunder of the enemy's cannon; animating the soldiers by his example. The artillery of the Austrians and their cavalry, were much superior to those of the French: the latter had only thirteen field-pieces with them, ten of which they had lost during the battle. The body of reserve, with General Deffaix at their head, marched forward with their bayonets fixed, protected by the three remaining field-pieces. In a short time they had repossessed themselves of six field-pieces. Whilst in the act of retaking a seventh, General Deffaix fell mortally wounded. "*Cachez ma mort aux soldats,*" said he to his aides-de-camp; and soon after, as he was expiring, he added, "Go, tell the First Consul, that I die with regret for not having signalized myself sufficiently to hand down my name to posterity." Thus the great

presence of mind of this heroic warrior, with the personal bravery of Bonaparte, and the undaunted firmness of the consular guard, which stood immovable like a rock, in the midst of the field of battle, turned the scale, and the advantage remained on the side of the French, till night put an end to the slaughter. Still victory did not seem to be decided: Bonaparte looked forward to a new attack on the next morning as certain. His surprise and astonishment were the greater, when the Austrian general offered terms, and shewed himself anxious for a convention even on the most disadvantageous terms; by which an armistice was certainly settled; but all fortified places between the Po, Oglio, and Chiesà, were ceded to the French. Genoa, Piedmont, and Lombardy were again set free. Bonaparte hastened to Milan, where his victorious entry afforded great satisfaction to the friends of Jacobinism, to whom his defeat had already been announced. A grand *Te Deum*

was celebrated to his honour in the cathedral of Milan. His staff accompanied him. When the priests asked him in what manner he chose to be received, he replied instantly, come l'imperatore, (like the emperor).

Bonaparte appointed a provisional government for the Cisalpine republic on the spot, and returned through Lyons, where he commanded the streets and squares to be rebuilt which had been reduced to ashes, during the reign of terrorism. He himself laid the first stone of the new buildings of the square Bellecour, which name was changed into that of Bonaparte. He arrived at Paris two days before he was expected, and thus avoided the ceremonies of a triumphal entry, which had been decreed him.

On the following day he received the congratulatory addresses of the constituted authorities, of the national institute, and the several administrations. All the houses at Paris were illuminated five nights successively.



Plays and other amusements in celebration of this great victory were given in all the theatres of Paris. The exultation was general, and all were in great hopes for the future. The splendid victories which were obtained by Moreau in Germany, still more increased the hopes of a general peace. On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the revolution, all seemed enraptured with their victory and victorious leader. The revolution and its object were entirely forgotten. Grand processions, entertainments, prize-fighting, running matches, &c. attracted the attention of the Parisian multitude. Bonaparte and his whole family were among the spectators. The first stone of a national monument, in remembrance of the most important occurrences, during the revolution, was laid on this day, as was likewise that of a monument in memory of the brave General Dessaix, to whom Bonaparte chiefly owed that success which filled them all with rapture.



The republican writers availed themselves of this opportunity to remind the Consul of his duties. Many of them spoke boldly, knowing how far the enthusiasm of gratitude can lead a noble heart, and fearing, lest he should give way to the lust of power which too soon dazzles triumphant heroes, they particularly demanded the liberty of the press. They warned Bonaparte not to listen to those who should endeavour to inspire him with prejudices fatal to the friends of republicanism. Daunau, Jean de Brie, Constant, Riouste, Ginguenet, joined in these remonstrances. Bonaparte and his partisans used the means to stifle the public voice; they had already prohibited all patriotic newspapers: by their order many of the publishers and printers of them were sent to prison, after having seen their offices destroyed, and their printing machines taken away. A small number of the former political journals still existed; yet they were closely watched by the police. Some public

papers, in the pay of government, set up against them. They recalled the old constitution, by which they understood nothing less than the introduction of all the terrors of former despotism, and of all former intolerance in matters of opinion. The priests and emigrants now returning in numbers, anxious to re-establish their wonted ascendancy and their prerogatives, joined these hirelings. They began with inveighing against Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, Montesquieu, Mably and other writers, who had dared to expose the follies and abuses of former times. They styled them indiscriminately, atheists, blasphemers, disturbers of the public tranquillity. The family of Bonaparte was highly pleased, to see these old experienced knights stand forward as champions in their cause, they gave them full scope, being sure to come in for the harvest before them.

Surrounded by a sufficient number of new hirelings, Bonaparte felt himself confident that

he was able to send them out of the way, or to annihilate them, if they dared to be too loud and busy. Many of the old nobility, that had remained in France, during the revolution, and had merited well of the country, were appointed to profitable places under the new administration. The latter took great care at the same time to occupy a number of the returned emigrants, by providing them with honourable employments in the provinces.

The new created dignities of prefects, in the several departments, who were to be one hundred in number, besides four hundred underprefects, afforded him the opportunity of doing so. The new administration was in hopes to find these unfortunate exiles faithful and submissive servants, who, after having been worn out with continual fatigue abroad, owed their security and comfort to its kindness; such were Lameth, Mounier, Rabaut, Pomier, Duclos, and men of a similar character.

Yet the number of emigrants, chiefly noble-

men and priests, who had ventured to return since the solemn promise of government, to close the lists of proscription, and to erase all names of innocent persons, was unexpectedly great. Many of them looked forward to nothing less than the complete recovery of their estates, and former dignities, and became according to French custom, rather too noisy when government seemed unmindful of them. Some of the old nobility, who were known to have carried arms against their native country, and therefore excluded from the general amnesty, by a particular provision, insisted often with great violence on the erasure of their names from the list. Others went still farther; without even applying for the erasure of their names, they instantly went about to recover their former estates by artful means, and sometimes even by force. The returned priests had already begun publicly to condemn all those who had purchased such national property; and the fears of its present possessors

were thus raised to a high degree. The administration now thought it time to interfere, and to establish a special committee to decide on the merits of all claims of property made by emigrants, and revise the lists of proscription, which still contained 100,000 names.

An honest member (Lafalle), seeing the confused and illegal manner in which it proceeded, found it expedient to resign; he laid his reasons for so doing before the public, who were informed, by these means, of the procedures of this committee. Its aim to spin out this matter to a great length, and to perplex it, became evident: 24,000 different claims were already lodged with their committee; but it was still thought proper to increase this number, by bringing in the claims of the poor peasants from the Rhine, who had been driven away by the horrors of war; 8000 of whom had already petitioned for their property, which was left to the decision of this com-

mittee, of which the prefects of the departments of the Rhine were certainly much better judges, being acquainted with all the local circumstances.

The report made by the resigning member, Lafalle, on this head, contains the following remarkable passages: "The longer this committee lasts, and the more its members may increase in number, the less power will it have to resist machination and intrigue. Bonaparte may be able to conquer, and restore peace, but from the present decline of all public morality—from the shameful illiberality that pervades all ranks, and from our national prejudices, Bonaparte will find it a hard task to select thirty men capable of executing this important charge in a dignified manner." He solemnly asks the discontinuance of the committee, and the putting a stop to all emigrant claims. "The tardiness," he added, "observed in all these procedures, and their very nature must prove baneful to society. Ci-



tizens, hitherto honest men, grow accustomed to attest facts upon oath, the falsehood of which is well known to them. Public officers get the habit of allowing such scandalous transactions. According to a late decree of the consuls, no possessions or estates, already become national property, can be restored to emigrants erased from the lists : but that emigrant who is most guilty in the eye of the law, for having carried arms against his own country, must be looked upon as the most dangerous by all politicians, for he will not brook the seizure of his property. He sinks into the class of those who have nothing to lose, and grows the more dangerous as he is spurred on by revenge : his relations, his creditors, and all those who claim a joint possession of his estates, or a succession to them, will naturally form one party with him.

It will be seen hereafter that this honest man was right in his predictions. By the last decree of the administration respecting



these claims, it was finally determined that all persons, who had been leaders of French troops, fighting against their own country ; who had accepted of any military degree in the armies of the enemy ; who had continued in the private services of French princes during the revolution ; who had been the authors and promoters of civil and foreign war ; who, being representatives of the people, had been found guilty of high treason ; and, lastly, all archbishops and bishops, who would not submit to the terms offered, should be excluded from the benefits of the general amnesty, and be prohibited the territory of the republic, under pain of death or deportation.

The republican inhabitants were surprised in another way, namely, by special orders, which seemed to announce greater attempts : the restoring the religious observance of the Sunday ; though, by a particular law, the officers of government were still obliged to keep the decades only :—the permission to

celebrate marriages on any day of the week, and no longer on the day of the decade exclusively:—the several regulations concerning the duties and functions of the prefects of police, with respect to their superintendence of gambling houses, brothels, and other places of infamy, which according to law should not be suffered at all:—the new regulations about public schools, and the printing and publishing of books, by which the liberty of the press was annihilated:—all these encroachments on former establishments and principles, raised suspicion and mistrust among the true republicans; nor were they much pleased when they saw, that the remains of the Marshal Turenne were to be deposited with great solemnity in the temple of Mars, at Paris, on the very day when Bonaparte was to lay the first stone of a monument to the memory of the late generals, Dessoix and Kleber, who died on the same day, and at the same hour. It was certainly some consolation

to these republicans to find, that the play of *Tartuffe*, from *Moliere*, had been chosen for a free night by the managers of the theatre, in spite of the priests; for they were in hopes that the First Consul, who was present, would take the hint in future, and become more circumspect towards the Roman Catholic clergy. They relied on it with confidence as it was his favorite play: the *Cid* of *Corneille* was represented at the same time. The crowd at the theatre was prodigious; every corner and entrance of the house were filled, and many were in danger of being stifled by the multitude continually pressing on. This caused many humane and patriotic citizens to erect a temporary building, like the amphitheatres of old, where a lasting impression might be made on the public mind, by grand national representations, breathing the spirit of patriotism and liberty. The views of Bonaparte, however, were very different; and the reader will soon learn in what manner these republican feasts were re-

duced by him to that kind of amusement, which the old court of France formerly used to prepare for the populace. For the present, they all rejoiced in harmless security; and the more so, as the signing of the preliminaries of peace with Austria was publicly announced, by order of government, on that very evening, and the articles read to the public by the light of torches. Government itself seemed without fear after witnessing the general satisfaction of the people. Soon after, when the discovery of a plot against the life of the First Consul was said to have been made, only Corsicans, or Italians, were implicated. The brother of a man of the name of Arena, who had been suspected before of intending to murder the First Consul, on the 18th Brumaire (fourth of November,) was taken up with Cerachi, Topino, Dermerville, Diana, and others, and all sent to the Temple. Many people doubted indeed the reality of such a plot, and were of opinion that the in-

tended murder of Bonaparte on the 18th of Vendemiaire (tenth of October,) at the Opera-house, was nothing but an invention, in order to get rid of some troublesome and suspected foreigners; but the affair of the infernal machine proved the existence of a plot against the life of Bonaparte. He, with the general and adjutants in his coach, escaped death by a kind of miracle. He owed the preservation of his life to the drunken courage of his coachman, who drove in full gallop through the narrow street, when it was blocked up by the cart containing the infernal machine, and when there seemed to be no possibility of passing: the coach had scarcely passed by, when the machine blew up. By the explosion, the houses near the spot were much damaged; and by the contents of it, chiefly consisting of lead and iron, many innocent persons were killed or wounded in the street. The Corsicans and Italians imprisoned in the Temple, and their partisans, were again suf-

pected as the authors of this plot. They were now tried on their first accusation ; and a court which was declared illegal and inadmissible by the prisoners and their counsels, passed sentence of death on Arena, Tapino, Lebrund, and Dermerville.

The administration took advantage of this opportunity to introduce a law, by which it was fully authorised to order and establish special tribunals in the departments, whenever they chose.

These tribunals were to be composed of judges and military persons ; but the First Consul had the choice and appointment of them. They were to decide on all misdemeanors and crimes (*crimes et délits*) for which any dishonorable bodily chastisement might be inflicted :—they were to try all persons accused of theft, burglary, and violence, if committed with the assistance of one or more persons :—they were to take cognizance of murder, coining, threats uttered against the



purchasers of national property, of excesses and assaults committed on them, and of incendiaries; and they were to proceed against all persons accused of secretly engaging troops, or of bribing and endeavouring to corrupt the soldiers and conscripts, or excite them to revolt: they were to inquire into all tumults, and to proceed against all persons taken up in the act of rioting; lastly, they were authorized to try all those persons who were already in prison on such charges. This new law, by which government was empowered to deprive the accused citizens of that protection which the glorious institution of juries affords to the innocent—by which it was permitted to subject them to an abominable court, wholly dependent on the arbitrary will of government, yet fully authorized to take cognizance of almost every crime; met with some resistance from the tribunate, whose duty it was to guard against all arbitrary proceedings, by which the safety of the people might be en-



dangered. Thirteen orators spoke against it, forty-one opposed it by their vote, and it was carried only by a majority of eight.

A counsellor of state, in the pay of government and its zealous defender, wrote a pamphlet against the opposing members of the tribunate, who had dared to check government in its despotic attempts : he inveighed against them, in the most outrageous and indecent manner—he exposed them as known disturbers of public peace and tranquillity, and published their names ; but those very names bore witness against him.

Bonaparte expressed himself with acrimony on this first opposition to his rash attempts, and became suspected of having a share in these personal indecent attacks. His very existence had been shaken by the terrible explosion of the *infernal machine* : he became quite another man, in his public life, since that dreadful day : he seemed now to give way to his true natural disposition : his mistrust of the

French nation, whose character is quite the reverse of his own, which he formerly used to conceal with great care; his early imbibed aversion to Frenchmen, which had been strengthened during the revolution, was in many instances too glaring. In all his public acts, he betrayed nothing but a deep knowledge, and a careful calculation of the folly and depravity of this equally unthinking and cruel people. His moderation in the fittings of council, on which the newspaper writers, in the pay of government, and the senators of his party, never ceased to pass their servile eulogium, now deserted him intirely. Hitherto he had studied his men; he began now to announce his will like a master, and to enforce obedience. His whole conduct to those about him was wholly changed; he used formerly to behave, if not in a popular, at least in a friendly manner, towards military men and artists; and all those who had, at any time, signalized themselves by their learning. Many of the lat-

ter had free access to him, and were often invited to dinner. Towards foreigners he had been generally civil and hospitable: there was no great formality required for them to be introduced, and they were often invited into his company. The good people took these things as proofs of a liberal and enlightened mind, and of a noble inclination to promote knowledge and morality.

The depraved character of those who surrounded him, though generally known, was not sufficient to destroy the good opinion entertained of him; on the contrary, when the people saw that he promoted the ablest and most honest men of all ranks and parties, to places of importance and trust, they began to look on him as a great statesman, whose superior genius led him to avail himself of every talent, and so counterbalance the most immoral and dissolute with the virtuous, that they were compelled to promote the general good. All men hoped for the reconciliation and union

of parties, in order to secure a free and happy constitution for France; but Bonaparte was perhaps endeavouring all along to unhinge them, and to rescind all possibility of effectual resistance, by thus intermixing the most incongruous characters in one body.

The author of an historical description of Paris, made on that occasion some just remarks. After having noticed some scandalous anecdotes, to the disgrace of many members of administration, which the newspapers and journals passed over in silence, he adds the following remarkable words concerning Bonaparte: " He that would blame the First Consul for giving his confidence to such men, must certainly be unacquainted with that pitch of immorality to which the nation is driven; he must be ignorant of the impossibility of finding only a small number of men, who unite an unblemished moral character with great and superior talents. This union is rarely to be found: and if one of the two can

ever be spared, it is certainly not the possession of superior talents in those who are to rule a great empire."

Bonaparte made it his particular study from the beginning, to gain the good opinion of all men of genius, certain, that by securing their voice, he would have the suffrage of all. Being himself one of the most extraordinary men, the darling of good fortune, at the head of a people, ever prone to excess in adulation, and proud of their rulers, it was no wonder that fulsome praises and exultations resounded from all quarters. Foreigners, taking the newspapers and journals as the general interpreters of public opinion, were often led to think the enthusiasm for Bonaparte was universal; but a short residence at Paris, and the visiting public places of resort, or mixed societies, would soon convince them of their error. Bonaparte is by no means popular.—He is cold and reserved—he knows not how to inspire affection; a formal, carefully regu-

lated deference and respect are shewn him : and he stands the more firm on that very account. He is not one of those idols raised by the voice of the people, commonly trampled upon with as little and as unexpected ceremony, as when first raised to unlimited power : he owes his rise to himself alone, and appears, for that very reason, to the multitude, as a superior being. The excessive authority of which he is possessed, banishes all familiarity even from those who are next to him in power. He has few enemies, an immense number of partizans, and hardly a single friend. There is no cause at present by which the enthusiasm of the people can possibly be raised. None of the parties can be said to rule ; none of them are suppressed : they are mixed one with another in such a manner, that it is difficult to decide which of them enjoys the greatest influence : he therefore does not consider himself dependent on their will. The principal leaders of the jacobin party have received a bribe



from government, and have deserted their flock : their generals have changed sides— General Jourdan, in Piedmont, Fouché, the Minister of Police at Paris, and Dubois, are living proofs of this assertion. The whole party is torn asunder, and will scarcely ever be able to re-establish itself. Many of the royalists have degraded themselves by accepting offices under the present government, though in their heart they despise the Corsican. Without any pretensions to nobility, he has dared to appropriate to himself the honors appertaining to noble descent only, and now gives himself the airs of a monarch on a throne, which could only be filled in a dignified manner by the descendants of royal ancestors. They conceal their inward conviction ; and incurable of their vain hopes, they look upon every thing, and every proceeding, as a preparatory step to realise a grand general plan, drawn up and secretly pursued by Bonaparte himself, in order that he may one day



be able to restore France to her lawful sovereign, and to reinstate every thing, and particularly the nobility into their former dignities. The small party of the republicans have at last been cured of their illusory hope of inspiring the nation with a true republican spirit; they relax more and more in their demands from their government, and judge with indulgence, without being much offended at the re-introduction of court etiquette, the cringing submission of the new made courtiers to their masters, and their insolence to others. The group of those who look in general on all constitutions with indifference, and only judge of events by their results, comparatively find no great matter of complaint, and enjoy a tranquillity unknown to them for a long series of years. The institution of prefects in the departments, was of great benefit at first; the members of the executive power throughout the republic, shewed an unanimous zeal to promote the general quiet. The prefects and

under-prefects of several departments vied with each other in the strict performance of their duty. The taxes were regularly paid, and some departments were even able to discharge their arrears. It would be folly to declare the finances of France to have been in a prosperous state, but it must be owned that a temporary stop was put to their further decline.

They were at this period so flourishing, that the expences of the republic could be defrayed without a loan : they even begun to discharge the arrears in pensions and payment of the troops. The army, especially that of Moreau, was well provided ; the profession of a foldier was again looked upon as honorable ; desertions in the interior of France were less frequent, and the raising of recruits and conscripts more easily effected. Such was the state of France. Bonaparte now felt himself secure ; he had no further need of that air of moderation and generosity, which,

contrary to his natural character, he had hitherto affected. One violent measure, striking the minds of all, and filling them with terror, by which the state was about to be freed of several monsters, the notorious instruments of all the crimes perpetrated during the revolution, whose existence was incompatible with the public peace and security of government, appeared at this time expedient to be adopted by Bonaparte.

In spite of the opposition which his proposal for a general deportation of all doubtful persons in France, met with in the Senate, five and twenty votes being against the measure, it was decreed at once to deport one hundred and thirty French citizens who were thought dangerous. The conservative Senate, where Sieyes very zealously strove to promote this despotic resolution, declared it by a special vote, to be a conservative measure of the constitution, (*une mesure conservative de la constitution.*)

A tranquil observer of the French revolution, made at that period the following remark on this arbitrary proceeding: "It is ever (said he) a great misfortune when a government is compelled to depart from established forms of administering justice, in order to bring some of the citizens to punishment. It may be urged, that they are but forms, which ought to be resorted to for the sake of public peace, yet the observance of them, stands in so close a connexion with the possibility of administering impartial justice, that government, whenever it may find it necessary to depart from them, ought most scrupulously to limit the new arbitrary mode, and thus shew respect for established laws."

In this view, many very reasonable objections might be made against the decree of deportation, particularly against the application of it to individuals, on the ground of notoriety alone. This decree does not specify

the crimes of which every one of the proscribed citizens has been guilty. There are thousands of Frenchmen, who have committed many follies in the time of revolutionary madness; but as long as no clear definition of that crime is given, of which deportation is to be the punishment, none of all these men can think themselves safe. The most consummate villain is no more liable to it than the citizen, to whose charge nothing else but unguarded expressions can be laid; and who knows not whether his name has been put on the list by a secret enemy, or by persons infected with party spirit, who cannot be considered as fair judges of human actions. If no common jury or court of justice should decide on these matters—if no formal process could previously be instituted, a special jury, composed at least of members of the conservative senate, might perhaps have been appointed, in order to ascertain the existence of the crime, instead of passing sentence without inquiry on the ground of

notoriety alone. Thus would the fears of the well meaning have been removed, and government have been absolved of cruelty and injustice.

In the mean time, in order to strengthen the impression, two Frenchmen, convicted of having been the makers of the infernal machine, were publicly executed. Bonaparte now adopted several measures, which betrayed anxious fear for his personal security. His consular guard, which had been established from the beginning of his consulate, and all military guards, under whose protection he used to appear in public. His causing himself to be surrounded in such a manner, that the most undaunted, who might hazard their own lives to rid the world of this usurper, should find it impossible to approach him, degenerated into a perfect manœuvre and became a new branch of military art. He has never since appeared abroad, without these additional precautions of security. This dreadful cataf-



trophe, furnished him with a pretext for changing his mode of living, which had formerly been more liberal. Though disagreeable to him, he chiefly confined himself within the circle of his family, attended by his guards. Malmaison, a small country seat, belonging to his wife, but wholly isolated, and, on that account, the more easily defended, had often been the place of his residence; he also occasionally resided at the palace of the Thuilleries, which he had entered with great solemnity, soon after his being made consul; every corner being filled with his consular guards. For some time past he had lived almost exclusively at Malmaison, where he introduced a strict court etiquette, which rendered him absolutely invisible to all persons whom he did not know to be entirely devoted to him. Very few of those learned men and artists, formerly admitted in great numbers into his presence and family, were now permitted to approach him: the only persons to

whom this favour was continued, were groveling creatures, on whose slavish submission he could depend ; and they were soon thrown back into the proper distance between master and servants.

This new mode of living, seemed to please the foreign powers more than the former, which was approved, and better liked by the people. Some ambassadors, enemies to the French republic, endeavoured at least to make Bonaparte and his family, who aimed at royal authority, believe so ; and they took great pains to convince him, that the restoration of the magnificence and splendour of the ancient court, would greatly contribute to the re-establishment of a friendly connexion between their masters and the First Consul.

The splendid victories of Moreau at that period, were, indeed, the real cause of the friendly disposition, by which almost all the courts of Europe surprised him so unexpectedly.

The negotiations with Austria, which had been broken off, were now renewed, and the treaty of peace so advantageous for France, was signed at Luneville, at the expence of the German empire, on the 19th of February, 1801, by the Count Cobentzel and Joseph Bonaparte.

This peace was proclaimed in the principal squares and public places, without any splendid preparation. It was received by the people with an unexpected coolness and indifference; no joyful exclamations of "Vive la republique!" or "Vive Bonaparte," were heard. Rœderer, the pliant counsellor of state, in his flattering account of the occurrences, during the second year of Bonaparte's consulate, notices this coolness of the people in the following words :

"When France received the news of the peace, she calmly manifested her joy, which did her more honor than noisy and tumultuous exultation; which, with its impotence,

and want of decency in outward form, is the joy of savages—the joy of the rabble in civilized states, when either an unexpected feast is given, some imminent danger removed, or an end is put to hardships long endured. Every impartial observer, who has witnessed the behaviour of the inhabitants of Paris, and of all France, at public places and national solemnities, for the two last years, must acknowledge that the French are no longer a rabble, but a rational people. No longer is the army composed of a brutal soldiery, but orderly, military men. This is one of the happy effects of equality, as by it every Frenchman is entitled to be admitted to all public places of amusement, which he finds no instigation to disturb. Every person may entertain the hope of being raised to the highest dignities, he therefore values himself too much to be guilty of any excess. France had nothing to fear from the continuation of the war, which was carried on under the command of the most experienced

generals : confident of her being able to make peace, whenever it might be consistent with honor, she had therefore no reason to wonder. The great news of peace cannot be received with a tumultuous joy by a nation which knows its own strength : the pleasing intelligence is expected, and is therefore received with inward satisfaction alone. Such was the sensation when the treaty of Luneville was announced."

The best answer to this artful and unfair construction is, that the people behaving in this manner were neither Dutchmen nor Americans, but the very same who, at the return of Bonaparte six months before, had proved themselves true Frenchmen. It was too clearly seen, that the explosion of the infernal machine, by which the mighty ruler had been frightened back into the innermost of his palace, had also struck the people with panic ; and while the mask of the one now fell, the illusion of the latter ceased likewise.

Other treaties of peace with Naples, Portugal, and several German princes, to whom the Emperor had left the task to treat for themselves, followed.

Lucien Bonaparte negotiated the peace with Portugal, in Spain; though he did not entirely realize the views of the First Consul, he certainly shewed great dexterity in consulting his own interest. He returned with a capital of thirteen millions of livres, the price of his having made a Spanish prince King of Etruria, and of having forced the Grand Duke of Tuscany to cede his rich Florentine possession to the new king. Joseph Bonaparte also took good care of himself, by exacting from some of the princes of Germany, a certain sum, for the partition of their territory: his brother added a present to it.

Bonaparte had in the former year signed on his part a convention with the Americans, from which, other powers might, if they pleased, have learned this lesson—that the firm,



noble, and decent conduct of a nation, feeling itself independent, would make a better impression on a character like Bonaparte, than the submissive, cringing behaviour of their ambassadors.

On the 14th of July, the very day which had been hailed for twelve years as a day of liberty, and of the destruction of the Bastille, peace was celebrated; not in the extensive *champ de mars*, where all republican feasts had been given since the grand anniversary of the confederation, but in the elysian fields, where the people had been often entertained in the times of royal France.

The whole management of this festival of peace bore a striking resemblance to the feasts given by the old court to the Parisians. In the room of the lofty temple of liberty in the field of mars, where religious, judiciary, and military solemnities made an awful impression on the mind, there was to be seen a pretty, glittering, little kind of illuminated

rotunda, built of wood, in which a number of fiddlers were scraping away, exactly as in the days of the old court, on the anniversary of St. Louis. Instead of prize-fighting, grand races, and combats in the Roman style, in which every republican of note or property formerly used to take a share, there were to be seen, as in the good old times, a number of little scaffolds for tumblers, ropedancers, harlequins, pantaloons, scaramouchers, &c. Franconi, with his troop, had also places assigned, for feats of horsemanship and pantomimes. Garnerin rose with his balloon; and a *mât de l'ocagne* was erected, greased all over, intended to be climbed on, and hung with hams and sausages for the greedy rabble. Places for dancing were likewise appointed; in short, there was every thing to amuse an idle people, fond of merriment; and yet the people did not dance much. They were neither noisy nor much disposed for mirth; it was, indeed, a very composed and decent rejoicing.

Bonaparte and his family did not take any notice of these little amusements: but he went the night before to the Theatre François, in his grand consular dress, surrounded by a numerous and splendid military guard. The people were admitted gratis to see the play. All the other theatres in Paris were likewise open, to which every one had free admission; but none of them thought proper to represent a play, or to give an entertainment, in allusion to the peace, or the maker of it, though they had all been very busy to that effect, after his return from Marengo. Mr. Rœderer might have discovered here additional proof of the *discretion*, the *delicacy*, and the *improved character* of the French, and their rapid strides towards cosmopolitic perfection.

Bonaparte set little value upon these new principles; and he manifested it beyond a doubt, by his new treaties with the Algerines and Tunis-law pirates. He had the dexterity to appease the Emperor Paul, who was then

arming against him, by a studied mark of attention. He sent him seven thousand Russian prisoners of war, who had already been reconciled with their situation in France, new clothed, and completely armed, without any ransom; and Paul signed the peace with France on the 8th of October, 1801.

Great Britain having been resisted in its claims by the armed neutrality of the northern powers, found itself now isolated, and turned its thoughts to peace. The French assented to the evacuation of Egypt; and England, pressed by interior dissatisfaction and fears, submitted to very disadvantageous terms.

A formal treaty of peace with the Turks was also signed about this time.

After having settled the external affairs in this manner, it was thought expedient to proceed farther. The prefects, under-prefects, and justices of peace, the latter having been reduced from six thousand to three thousand, were actively employed in re-establishing

public order, assisted by new organized corps at Gendarmes, who were destined to do the duty of the ancient *maréchaussée*, under the authority of the new special tribunals. But some journalists and newspaper-writers, with their partisans, under the pay and protection of government, endeavoured principally to prepare the minds of the people to the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion. A very clever, but ill-famed abbé, named Geoffroy, had the direction of the journal called *Journal des débats*; of which an immense number of copies were printed, and circulated all over France. By an artful, well-devised, and malicious vein of witticism, he succeeded in rendering all the attempts to improve mankind suspicious and contemptible, which the greatest geniuses of France had made during the latter part of the last century. He maintained that the objects which these men had designedly, and knowingly pursued, had effected nothing but the subversion and annihila-

tion of all good morality, of all religion, of all respect towards government, and the destruction of all the ties of society. His virulence was chiefly directed against Voltaire and Rousseau. These two men, who never ceased to attack each other; of whom it may be said, that they never agreed in any single point; were portrayed by him as two equally wicked traitors, animated by the same design—namely, the overthrow and destruction of the French nation; and were damned to all eternity. He betrayed too soon, that he had only taken up arms through bigotry, and in defence of despotism; to which these two men had never been *very friendly*. La Harpe, after having outlived himself too soon; after having been, in former times, and to the last year of the revolution, the most zealous defender, and most enthusiastic eulogist of his teacher and friend, Voltaire, now joined the pious band of royal pious Roman catholic dealers in damnation, and unmercifully con-



demned the old witty and arch sinner to eternal flames. Though he most probably did not succeed in his charitable wishes, he gained, however, some new readers of his *fallen mercury* at France, and made it sell a little better.

Beurrier, and some other of his cast, preached and published sermons, to the edification and conversion of all poor souls, infected by the doctrines of what was termed philosophy; and the lives of the saints, abounding with popish and priestly exhortations, supplanted the well-written memoirs and biographies of statesmen, heroes, and philosophers, who had merited well of their country. One cannot help smiling, at the same time one truly pities these hypocritical fanatics, in observing what they pretend to call *philosophers* and *philosophy*.

They do not mean a Descartes, a Malebranche, a Bayle, and such great men, when they declare war against their philosophers; they mean, on the contrary, all those eloquent

and clever writers, who were men of letters and men of the world, who at the same time had courage enough to expose to the deceived multitude the folly and absurdities of their leaders, and to caution them against deceitful glitterings and dark lanterns, by which they were dazzled : they mean all those men who thought mankind capable of improvement, and deserving a better fate, and who were in hopes to find out the right path that leads to sacred truth ; who wished to raise the looks of mankind to heaven, and sublime objects, instead of fettering them down to the earth, and yoking them like beasts of burden. In short, every man of good sense, of real fellow-feeling and of humanity, who raised his voice against the crafty and political tyranny of priesthood, was called by them a philosopher ; and they hoped to brand his name with infamy, by such an appellation—poor miserable beings !

Chateaubriand's genius borrowed some new ornaments and gaudy drapery from the East,

to enliven Christianity, after its long death-like slumber. He went so far as to suppose the Christian religion, endued with an innate perfectibility, capable of attaining the higher requisites of art and classical beauty ; fanatics devoid of mind, and hypocrites, followed his example. One cannot help pitying the miserable productions advertised in all the French journals and literary catalogues—books long ago rejected and treated with contempt by enlightened Europe.

The political œconomist, Rœderer, has also some concern in this business, and does the Christian religion and the holy city of Rome a great honor, by representing it as a mere supplement to paternal authority and public legislation. He dwells besides on the many advantages which Rome, still in his opinion, the queen of the world, may procure for Roman catholic nations, towards whom she is favourably inclined ; he notices the great mischiefs which they may do to refractory states ; he in-

sists on the aversion which foreign powers will always feel from a people without priests and without altars, in order to make them bend under the Popish yoke.

All these apologists, though they continually and unanimously praise the French, as the most amiable, most civilized, most enlightened, most tender, and most respectable people, treat them, at the same time, like the most abject rabble, whom the whip and the gallows can scarcely keep in order; from this they urge the necessity of maintaining the only saving catholic faith. They unanimously assert, that the French had no other desire for the last ten years, than to have their priests restored to them, though every one knows that they drove them out of the country as soon as they had broken their chains asunder, and either butchered or drowned such as would not fly; nevertheless, they so often repeat this, that the French themselves must at last believe it: some of their neighbours certainly will not

doubt it. But impartial men, and the friends of truth, will see and speak otherwise:—This has been the case with la Vendee, which included provinces distinguished for several centuries past from the rest of France, by their manner of thinking and the customs of their inhabitants. The royalists (that is of la Vendee, a term applied only to noblemen and possessors of estates) were fully satisfied with the antient government: and when the hateful innovation of the revolution was attempted to be introduced, they had the prudence instantly to draw the lower class of people into their interest, and to transform their resistance into a religious war; but this was not the case with the rest of France. Hypocrites and fanatics, anxious to prove the general desire of the people, and the necessity of restoring the Roman catholic religion, had recourse for a precedent to the history of La Vendee, where they certainly found something in their favor; yet La Vendee would not, most probably, have

been tranquilised so soon, if the emissaries of Bonaparte had not made them the same promises of a final restoration of their king, as they did about the re-establishment of the Roman catholic religion. The Vendéans would not have remained so quiet, if Bonaparte and his generals had not taken more powerful and uniform measures to keep that part of La Vendée under control, which had not been included in the treaty of peace. Like their predecessors, who generally made peace in order to gain time, and to gather strength, they would have broken it.

The French government, if it really intended to establish that religion, which the people most wanted and demanded, as it was pretended, ought to have tolerated alike all different professions of faith, in order to give the citizens the opportunity of a fair trial. They should have begun with the general reform of public instruction, and, after having attended to its effects, or rather its first im-



pressions, operating in favor of religion and morality, under the attentive vigilance of 10,000 mayors, 3000 justices of peace, 100 prefects, 400 under-prefects, with their counsellors, and a corps of well-organised gend'armes, besides numberless special tribunals : they might afterwards have proposed to re-establish the Roman Catholic faith. But Bonaparte, being a true Italian, full of deep and dark designs, always consulting his own interest, and secretly pursuing his end, preferred the policy of the ancient despotism : and introduced, with other new regulations for his own personal security, this spiritual one ; convinced that the whole host of monks and priests and the many Roman Catholic courts, and special tribunals, instituted for the benefit of poor Christian souls, would as usual readily concur in promoting his views.

A national synod was convened, under the auspices of government, to discuss the means of restoring the Gallican church, which had

often given great offence to the Papal chair. Bonaparte negotiated with the Pope, who had not been a little terrified by him. The consequence of this negociation was the famous *concordat*, by which, in fact, no party was satisfied. The Pope declared in a conclave, after having created four French cardinals from mere gratitude, that much had been promised him by the First Consul, and that the creation of the four French cardinals would undoubtedly contribute greatly to promote the Catholic persuasion in France, and pacify his Roman friends.

Though Portalis and Rœderer took great pains to prove the equality of right to all religious opinions, it cannot be denied that the *concordat*, as far as it has been made public, paves the way for the exclusive exercise of the Roman Catholic faith. The First Consul must of necessity be one of its followers. The very numerous Roman clergy is supported and pensioned by government, without excep-

tion, whilst the Protestant clergy are left unprovided for; their superior only receiving a small stipend from the state. Indeed the pensions of the clergy have not yet been paid, even for the first year; yet the Catholic priests in the departments have already begun to speak in the high strain of former times; they tyrannize over the common people, and particularly influence the minds of the purchasers of national property; they assert that every couple married by a constitutional priest, and every child christened by any of them, must be married and christened anew; they consecrate all churches again that have been profaned, as they term it, by constitutional priests: this point once settled, Bonaparte may perhaps discover with whom he has to deal. If their payments should be kept back, which, on account of the expences of the present war with England, is but too likely, Bonaparte may learn, that the very instruments he meant to use against the people, may also be employed

against himself. If the famous spiritual ruler, and earthly prince, who has undoubtedly kept an account of the last fourteen years, has once settled all his spiritual and temporal friends in the land of promise, there may happily still remain one unfortunate anointed head to be provided for, whom all those friends will undoubtedly be ready to serve and assist, in preference to the fortunate soldier. Bonaparte may then, too late, be convinced of his error. He may attempt to redress it, and retrieve his folly; but he must recollect, that very few men can safely retreat after having daringly advanced; at least, there is no probability that he will make an exception, as he has forcibly seized the helm, and with undaunted boldness steered the course of 30 millions of individuals.

The assertion of a general wish of the nation for the re-establishment of the Catholic religion and its absolute necessity, was repeated at the same time as that regarding the public instruction of youth. Chaptal, the

minister, who is considered in foreign countries as a man of a liberal and enlightened mind, begins his circular letter to the departments and their prefects, in the following words, of whom he requires a correct return of the number and nature of public schools :  
“ Depuis dix ans on reclame de toutes parts le rétablissement de ces colleges où une jeunesse nombreuse trouvait une instruction facile et suffisante.” \*

Jinguenet makes a pointed reply to this in his *Decade Philosophique*: “ I know nothing of a general wish for the re-establishment of the old schools, (says he,) but I know that the mode of instruction in those schools has been neither easy nor sufficient.”

“ Eight or nine years were spent, teaching latin only ; neither history, geography, natural philosophy, drawing, nor any other use-

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\* For these ten years past, the re-establishment of those colleges has been loudly called for on all sides, in which a great number of young men have easily acquired a sufficient degree of knowledge.

ful study, made a part of public instruction. Of two years assigned afterwards to the study of philosophy, the one was lost in the dry pursuit of a fatiguing and most confused system of metaphysics—the other in a course of mathematical lectures, by no means sufficient. The education and instruction of youth were in the hands of monks and priests, who took great pains to make them monks, abbés, and devotees ; but never thought of rendering them brilliant or useful members of society.”

This applied with great truth to the former schools ; and much might be said on this head. The ignorance of the whole French nation, as to their fundamental laws, concerning the administration of justice, their rights and public duties, their scanty knowledge of the geography and history of their own and other countries, was the result of such innovations under such teachers: even the revolution may be partly attributed to this. The stupidity, the immorality, and the arrogance of the monks



and priests, to whom the public education was confided, had filled the French with disgust and contempt for their teachers ; they naturally looked out for better instructors. To such a degree was a very essential part of their education neglected, that, with the exception of the higher classes, and the mercantile part of the nation, scarcely a Frenchman could be found who could write a good hand, or knew any thing of figures ; this volatile people, devoid of all the powers of cool and sound judgment, thronged under the banners of mad, or insidious, cunning leaders, in hopes of bettering their fate ; and ascribed to their instigators all the crimes and horrors which have so shamefully disgraced the French revolution. The recalling and reinstating of these teachers can therefore be of no benefit whatever ; it will certainly lead back to the former state of ignorance ; but as experience has taught us, it will not prevent the attempts of a new revolution.

Bruim, of Strasburg, a man of classical erudition, and of the best intentions, urged the necessity of a liberal plan of instruction for youth. He particularly inveighed against the insinuations of all the friends of ignorance ; but he stood alone. All those who lived near court, who could see with their own eyes, and form a right judgment of Bonaparte and his ministers, without needing the praises of hired, lying, or frightened newspaper writers and journalists, had lost the courage to tell the truth. They were sensible that Bonaparte had received his education from priests, and had been taught nothing but latin and mathematics : they knew him to be an enemy to all liberal plans of instruction ; they were not ignorant, that all the high-sounding proclamations of government, and all the new established societies for the improvement of public education, were nothing else but a show and a juggle to impose upon the silly French people, who are easily duped by pompous

words, fair promises, or grand extensive preparations; and in their joy, generally lose sight of the real object in view.

The most worthy men of France, amongst whom Cluvier may rank the first, had long since turned their thoughts to the drawing up a plan of education worthy of the 19th century; but as it will be seen hereafter, one single stroke of the pen of Bonaparte annihilated it altogether.

Distant northern countries, whose inhabitants are looked upon as barbarians, by all children of ignorance, know better how to profit by the liberal hints given by men to whom France owed its fame in learning. The bright sun of erudition no longer rises exclusively in the East, nor sets in the West. Bonaparte, who might have shone in the annals of history, like another Eastern Alexander, may perhaps be doomed by impartial posterity, and the records of truth, to nightly shade and total darkness; when the Northern

Alexander stands high in the regions of meridian splendor and true greatness.

The deliberations on the new code of laws, offered a fresh opportunity of unravelling the character and views of Bonaparte. It had been made public, and met with approbation, having been drawn up by the most esteemed legislators. Some of the first lawyers of France had added notes to it; the courts of appellation and the tribunal of cassation had also examined it, and made some additions. Every thing was prepared for its introduction: it was submitted to the decision of the council of state, where a discussion took place; the report of which was printed for the use of the public, and the council of state at last drew up these laws, which were afterwards to be discussed in the legislative body and the tribunate. These two bodies were now daring enough to oppose, in the presence of the consuls, some of these laws as inexpedient, obscure, and prejudicial to the safety of the

citizens. Government, much hurt at this opposition, withdrew in consequence the newly proposed laws, in strange and rather angry terms. A special message plainly announced to them that government saw itself compelled to withdraw them, though they had been demanded and anxiously expected by the people, observing that the time for quiet deliberation and harmony had not yet arrived.

Bonaparte took a very simple measure to prevent any opposition in future, or rather to avoid all strong discussion: he, without any ceremony, proposed to the senate to turn out all members from these two bodies, who had signalized themselves by using too much liberty in their speeches, as soon as the time for the annual going out of one-fifth should arrive. A special list of all members offensive to government was made out, and the cleansing of the two state bodies, as they called it, took place according to the supreme will and pleasure of government.



Twenty members of the tribunate, and sixty members of the legislative body were ejected and replaced by other men more pleasing to the First Consul. By the constitution it was certainly ordered, that all members indiscriminately should draw lists at the going out of one-fifth part, but this law was set aside for *weighty* reasons no doubt.

Rœderer, the counsellor of state, thought proper in his Journal of Paris, to call their last opposition *indecent, unreasonable, suspicious, and untimely*. He declared every opposition inadmissible, but that which was outvoted by a constant majority of ministerial members: sensible and impartial men, to their great astonishment, now learned for the first time, that an opposition should partly exist in France: yet the awkward and unfair manner in which this servile hireling contrasted these discussions of the tribunate and legislative body, with the oppositions in the British parliament, shewed clearly, that he did not, or



rather would not understand the true sense of the term.

An acute writer made some notes to Rœderer's pamphlet, and proved that no real opposition could exist at all in France. The proposing of new laws, (says he) is according to the present constitution, the exclusive right of government; the council of state in which the First Consul, or one of his colleagues presides, which is appointed by the First Consul himself, and responsible to him, is charged to deliberate on the means of the execution of the laws, and only on the propriety of new ones. But the tribunate, free from all influence, is bound to watch over the rights of the people, to expose all abuses, and to decide on the merits or demerits of all laws proposed. The legislative body is the final resort, and its vote is decisive. But why these two last bodies, if none of the members shall have the power to withhold their assent to the measures of government as Mr. Rœderer desires? Why a

tribunate at all? Rœderer thinks they may still speak, in order to inform government of the voice and wishes of the people. He supposes that men will take the trouble of finding out and making objections, which nobody cares for, because he is not compelled to answer them: he also imagines that the public prints will indeed faithfully detail these speeches. If Bonaparte will grant, to newspaper writers, the privilege of publishing objections made to the measures of government, he has no need of a class of men in the tribunate, who may certainly speak, if they chuse, but who dare not oppose. The publishers of newspapers will find opposition matter for themselves: and the public may save 1,200,000 livres, which are annually paid to the members of the tribunate. Why the farce of a special orator for each of the legislative bodies, as they are in the best understanding, and in perfect harmony with government, always praising and extolling it to the skies? Why this legislative body itself,

if they intend hereafter to make it an asylum for all the poor unhappy wretches, whom Abbé Sicard\* could not by any means enable to gain their daily bread by useful labour? It is all very well; for the deaf and dumb are here in their proper places, as they have nothing else to do than to assemble at a certain hour at a certain day, in order to throw a few little balls in the little balloting machine, when a certain sign is made. It is almost impossible for any man to think otherwise, if he have ever been present at the sittings of the legislative body, and seen its members silently perform that sacred and important duty of throwing a black or white ball into a certain pot, as it pleases their master.

The French people care not about the sittings of the legislative body. The greatest part of those who go there out of curiosity, are foreigners, who wish to see the fine saloon,

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\* Sicard, a celebrated leader of the deaf and dumb, in Paris.

which has been fitted up for the legislative body, in the palace of the Prince Conti; and they may see it when the sittings are over. Countrymen, or inhabitants of small boroughs, who are anxious to see their cousins and friends, in their embroidered costly dress, and broad tri-coloured scarf, sometimes go there; and they form indeed a strange contrast with the foreign ministers, who sometimes attend in their full dress, with their flars and ribbands, and have a separate gallery assigned them.

The French citizens would take more interest in the sittings of the tribunate, where the new laws are discussed: but this legislative body assemble in a small saloon, of the palais royal, which, on that account, is now called Palais du Tribunat. There is only room for a few spectators; but even these few are seldom to be met with.

A more interesting object to all Parisians was, the beholding the hereditary prince of

Parma, whom Bonaparte made king of Etruria. They had not seen a king for the last ten years. He, that now appeared among them was a young prince of twenty-one years of age, well made, a Louis of the house of Bourbon, dressed in the splendid uniform of the Spanish guards. Bonaparte behaved civilly towards him: he came to town from Malmaison more frequently than usual; but the air and tone of a man that can make and unmake kings, was always kept up towards the young prince, who behaved almost with too much civility and gratitude to the First Consul. The most expensive and most splendid feasts were given in honor of the young king, but not by Bonaparte himself; he ordered his ministers to do so. Millions of livres were expended, and never since the days of Louis XIV. had such a number of grand festivals been given at Paris. Flattering illusions to the illustrious visitor were made at the theatres. Distinguishing marks of respect were bestowed upon him



every where. Many an honest-hearted Parisian was inclined to believe, that the kingdom of Etruria was only meant as the first step, or preparatory school for this Louis of Bourbon, and that Bonaparte hereafter intended to make him king of France. But the public prints announced his departure sooner than he himself might have been led to expect. Not long after he set out, taking with him a letter written by Bonaparte to the Duke of Parma, his father, in which he recommended strongly the receiving of his son like a king, and the paying him all due honors and respect. But there was no need of this; the duke would not have offended his sister, the Queen of Spain, who had been instrumental in procuring such a boon for her nephew, or rather for her daughter, his consort. Never did the son of a petty prince obtain more easily so valuable a gift. Tuscany is the finest and most fruitful part of Italy, near the Mediterranean, with 1,500,000 inhabitants, yielding



a revenue of three millions of dollars. But why the necessity of raising it into a kingdom, as the grand dukes had always been very respectable, few could guess. They were as much astonished as when he annihilated Venice. Some supposed, that mere revenge had spurred him in one instance, and that an over-ruling pride had guided him in the other. But Bonaparte knows the French, and understands pretty well how to prepare them gradually for those steps, which he means to take hereafter.

The indemnification of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, was not thought of: he was compelled to give up his country, because Bonaparte would not suffer an Austrian prince in the neighbourhood of his Italian republic, and so near the Mediterranean. He was to be indemnified, both in Germany and Italy; and yet of all European princes he had been the first in acknowledging the French republic.

The King of Sardinia, who had been robbed of Piedmont and Savoy, was not treated with more indulgence. His ambassador was even ordered to leave Paris, because he thought proper to treat without the concurrence of Russia and Prussia; nor would he submit to the impertinence of the minister of police, who peremptorily required, that he should personally wait upon him, in order to shew his credentials.

The pretty and splendid feasts, and all the fine sports during the stay of the King of Etruria, had nevertheless some good effects. The Parisians, who like children, easily forget past injuries, were put in good humour again, and heartily disposed to rejoice at the peace with England; and they did so, without troubling themselves whether Rœderer would call them savages or rabble. There was no end to their noisy mirth: the official congratulations took up several days, and the environs of the Thuilleries were continually

crowded, where the eyes were dazzled with the uncommon brilliancy of the surrounding objects on the great public parade. The cry of "Vive Bonaparte," was once more heard; but the populace rushed on with such impetuosity to see the great pacificator, in spite of all his guards, that he was compelled to leave the parade sooner than usual, and rather in a precipitate manner.

Bonaparte availed himself of this joyful disposition of the people, to introduce the day of his counter-revolution as a festival: peace and this event were therefore celebrated at one and the same time. Very great and expensive preparations were made; but the whole of this feast was far from being in the republican, but rather in the old court style. Not the extensive field of Mars, nor the Elyfian fields, but the most confined part of the Thuilleries was the spot chosen. The populace were forced to remain at a distance in the dirty streets, and neighbouring places, during the rain.

There was certainly matter enough to be looked at. Air-balloons, fire-works, water-works, and a sort of military pantomime, in which all nations were represented, with whom France had been at war. The Parisians, naturally fond of show, were not to be kept at home. In spite of the unfavorableness of the weather, they remained there in crowds from morning till night, to enjoy all these rarities; and at noon, when it began to clear up a little, and Bonaparte shewed himself at the window of his palace, they repeatedly cheered and saluted him with the cry of "Vive Bonaparte." In the interior of the palace there was also great rejoicing. Bonaparte wore, for the first time, at the hilt of his sword, the precious diamond, once the ornament of the crown.

To the quiet observer, who is not solely intent on outward glitter, and who had, perhaps, retired to France, in order to escape the tyranny of his despot at home, this

highly celebrated peace with the powers, and particularly with Russia, must be a matter of regret, and a standing testimony of the humiliation of mankind.

The First Consul, an upstart, who, by the will of the French people, or rather by their passive submission, and his own cunning, had become their absolute master ; and a prince born, the unlimited emperor of a despotic country, mutually engage to take care of their own personal security, and of that of their country. These two, who, according to the assertions of their flatterers and slaves, stand opposite to one another, like the good and the fallen angel, offer their hands and hearts, and promise cordially to co-operate in putting every person out of the protection of the law, who shall fall under the suspicion of inimical designs to either.\*

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\* The remarkable article in the treaty of peace between France and Russia, to which this refers, contains the following words :—

Poor Paul had made the painful experience too soon, that they were no travelling Frenchmen who opposed him. He died too early for the northern coalition, and its designs. The compassionate friend of mankind can only mourn for the brave Danes, who shed their blood for their country, and stood forward with true patriotic courage, to defend it against British superiority. Worthy of praise, and of lasting glory, are all those, who gallantly rise in the deciding moment of common danger, and bravely stand, without looking back to

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“ Les deux parties contractantes voulant, autant qu'il est en leur pouvoir, contribuer à la tranquillité des gouvernements respectifs, se promettent mutuellement de ne pas souffrir, qu'aucun de leurs sujets se permette d'entretenir une correspondance quelconque, soit directe soit indirecte, avec les ennemis intérieurs du gouvernement actuel des deux états, d'y propager des principes contraires à leurs constitutions respectives, ou d'y fomenter des troubles; et par une suite de ce concert, tout sujet de l'une des deux puissances, qui, en séjournant dans les états de l'autre attenterait à sa sûreté, sera de suite éloigné du dit pays et transporté hors des frontières, sans pouvoir en aucun cas se réclamer de la protection de son gouvernement.”



personal interest and safety. So did the Danes; and this noble deed has certainly proved the worth of that nation to its neighbours, and to all Europe.

Bonaparte had, indeed, great cause to rejoice at his new connexion with Paul, which was so soon and so unexpectedly followed by the very advantageous peace with England; for though Alexander kept the peace, once concluded, he certainly would not have made it, nor would he ever have done any thing to promote a treaty so very disadvantageous to Great Britain. A treaty of peace between Alexander and Bonaparte would not have included the former article. Whilst Bonaparte strives to annihilate all civil and political liberty in France, Alexander prepares for his extensive empire that reasonable freedom, by which the happy and contented existence of a monarch, and the comfort and welfare of the people are equally secured, and which attaches the latter to their kind ruler, by the blessed tie of gratitude.

But Bonaparte is an utter stranger to sentiments of humanity. Even the present constitution, which springs from his own arbitrary will, began to displease him; for he thought himself still too much constrained by it. With the assistance of his trusty servants, he now set about framing another, from which he might have full power to do what he pleased. The law was to place him, for the future, above all contradiction or resistance. Still, however, previous to any other consideration, he thought proper to give his new created Cisalpine Republic a constitution that should serve as an introductory step for his new one, in regard to France. He strictly adhered to his former policy, of progressively disposing the light-headed French to every injurious innovation. He would give them an instructive example in the new Italian Republic, where no resistance was probable, and where public liberty is a thing quite unknown.

A national deputation of 450 inhabitants of

the Cisalpine Republic, from the nobility, the clergy, the commons, the military corps, the learned, and the eminent citizens of all classes, had been ordered by Bonaparte to proceed to Lyons, in order to settle with him the new constitution, and had already been there several weeks waiting for his arrival. The minister of foreign affairs had also left Paris some weeks before, to proceed to Lyons ; but Bonaparte was retained by fears for his life and the safety of his family. The most heterogeneous reports, of extensive and dangerous plots were whispered into his ears ; the most extraordinary measures were adopted for his security ; a great number were taken up ; the prisons of Paris were filled with suspected persons ; the most renowned generals were sent away from the capital ; and either exiled to their country seats, or to distant departments ; many of the most celebrated statesmen, Barras, Rewbel, Tallien, and many citizens of less note, received the same *compliment* : they

were also sent into the provinces, and placed under the special inspection of the police; many of the returned emigrants, of both sexes, met with the same fate; even old La Harpe had the honor of being reckoned among the number of these unjustly persecuted victims of foul suspicion; and was accordingly banished.

Foreign powers were requested to take up all emigrants living in their dominions, and subject them to a strict examination.

The family of the First Consul were celebrating in the mean time the marriage of his third brother, Louis Bonaparte, with Mademoiselle Beauharnois, his wife's daughter by a former marriage. A house, lately inhabited by the First Consul himself, had been most superbly fitted up for the new married couple. A small chapel had been likewise prepared in this house, where the Cardinal Caprara was to join this noble pair. General Murat, brother-in-law to the First Consul, also thought it proper to have the ceremony of his marriage

performed again by this most holy man ; and thus, perhaps, gave the signal for endless commotions with the priests. Bonaparte said to the cardinal, when he privately united his dearly beloved daughter-in-law, That these solemn acts in his family should not always be performed secretly, but that he hoped soon to be able to make them more splendid. Bonaparte was absolutely inaccessible during that period. Measures of safety were deliberated on at night by the council of state, and none but the most trusty members were invited to it. Even the two other Consuls were not always present. The police received instructions to execute them with the utmost secrecy, and the newspapers were strictly forbidden to make the least mention of them. Even the minister of police, Fouché, fell under suspicion, and was closely watched. After having taken every precaution, to secure his personal safety during the journey to Lyons, Bonaparte at last set out in the night, accompanied by his wife, some generals in his confidence, and his

guards. The whole road, from Paris to Lyons, was filled with detachments of troops of the line and gendarmes, who alternately took charge of the First Consul, and delivered him to each other like a prisoner.

In Lyons itself similar measures were taken ; and they went so far as to order, by a public decree, that the people should not press upon the First Consul, nor assemble in the streets through which he had to pass. The guard of honor, chosen from the sons of the most respectable merchants and inhabitants of Lyons, was not admitted close to his person ; his own body-guard always surrounded him.

Many Ligurian deputies, who had travelled to Lyons to be presented to the First Consul, had a few conferences with Talleyrand, and were sent back, without having seen him. They had not been called, nor had they asked leave to go thither.

The First Consul treated only with a committee of the Cisalpine deputies about their



new constitution, by which they were to have a president and a vice-president. He at last notified his will in a general assembly, and told them plainly, that he did not find among the 450 deputies, whom the *Moniteur* had mentioned as the most enlightened and deserving, one single man worthy of being made their president : and that he, therefore, had taken upon him the charge of this new dignity. The Italian assembly applauded this part of his speech, with great eagerness, as often as he stopped to take breath.

This new constitution does not admit of a free representation of the people, nor does it separate the legislative from the executive power. All the numerous expensive courts which it ordains, are nothing but mere tools in the hands of the president. It was, nevertheless, highly extolled by a set of servile French writers and politicians. Roederer passed great eulogies on the 87th article of this constitution, by which it was decreed, that a spe-

cial committee should be appointed, who were privately to deliberate on the new laws with the council of state. He recommended a similar one to France.

Weary of feasts, flatteries, and cringing, he returned, a fortnight after, sole regent of a new republic, in downright contradiction to the provisions of the French constitutional law: the same military measures were adopted for the safety of his return. The mayor of Lyons received a scarf of honour as a reward of his assiduity and submission.

The orders sent to all publishers of newspapers, by which they were prohibited to notice any innovation and measure of safety, had given birth to a written bulletin, which was distributed at Paris, and frequently sent abroad. The minister of police, Fouché, discovered at last the author to be one Fouilhaux; he had him taken up, and sentenced him to deportation. The Consul was much vexed at finding, after his return, that this

very same bulletin was still continued by the *Courier de Londres*, published in London. Offended in the highest degree at these public exposures of his character, and foolishly imagining that he could stifle the public voice abroad, with the same facility as he had done in France, he ordered De Montlosier, a French emigrant, formerly the publisher of a royalist journal, "*Les Actes des Apôtres*," and of late returned from London, to set up a new *Courier de Londres*, containing a kind of official bulletin, which frequently made war against the English newspapers. The editor of the genuine *Courier de Londres* became more daring after that time, and Bonaparte often demanded his punishment from the English ministry. A formal process was at last instituted at London against Peltier, which ended in his triumph. His journal, together with all English newspapers, were prohibited at Paris, and the police watches against their importation with incredible but fully effectual assiduity.

The official, and demi-official papers, the “*Moniteur*,” and the “*Défenseur de la Patrie*,” published by Bourienne, Bonaparte’s private secretary ; “the *Bulletin de Paris*,” under the direction of the counsellor of state, Regnaud St. Jean d’Angely ; the “*Journal of Paris*,” under the direction of Rœderer, were all fully employed in contradicting and refuting the reports which had been spread during the concealment and absence of Bonaparte. The British parliament was not spared in the least, though the negotiations of peace had already commenced at Amiens. The *Moniteur* thought the British representatives of the people *a set of Tartars*, and found in their speeches nothing but childish discussions. He often taxed them with stupidity, absurdity, ridicule, &c. All the underling papers eagerly copied these *judicious remarks* from the *Moniteur*.

A certain paper, called *La Clef du Cabinet*, which had attempted to take the airs of an opposition paper, began to notice these absurd

proceedings ; but he was ordered to keep silence. A journal called *Decade Philosophique*, which used to insert an article under the title "*Les Affaires de l'Intérieur*," was commanded to omit it in future. A musical entertainment called, "La partie de chasse de Henry IV." that had been got up with great expence, received the Consular Interdict, on account of some verses in honour of their most beloved Henry, and his descendants. M. Texier, taking advantage of this prohibition, announced it for his public readings ; but was commanded to leave out the offensive verses. M. Panou went so far, as to offer some general advice in his journal "*Mentor à Corinthe*," which greatly militated against Bonaparte's projects. He, the publisher, and the printer were all taken up : the printer had his presses seized, and formally confiscated by the police. The publisher lost all the copies of this truly harmless production, without receiving any equivalent. The author was deported to Cayenne.

A young and merry poet, M. Dupaty, narrowly escaped a similar fate. In a satirical play written by him, he had made a little too free with the awkwardness and arrogance of the new ruler, and his trusty servants. He was sent to Brest in consequence of an express order from the First Consul, who was already incensed against him, on account of his being the jovial companion of his brother Lucien, then in disgrace. He was to be transported to St. Domingo, on board the first ship, to shew his bravery against negroes and mulattoes. Happily for him the two brothers were reconciled before such a vessel sailed ; and he was pardoned after a few months' imprisonment. Thus every one was struck with fear and terror, and all Paris resounded with praises and blessings on the First Consul.

The definitive treaty of peace with England, so eagerly desired, on account of the grand St. Domingo fleet, was at last concluded. But the news of it was received at Paris



with incredible coolness. It made no favourable impression on the public funds. The coarse abusive language of the newspapers towards the English, was changed into malicious sneers. Their mutual animosities did not cease. Bonaparte finding himself fully confirmed in his power, now brought his projects to light : the tribunate, which had remained inactive since the famous cleansing of its stalls, voted the prolongation of the consulate to ten years, as a mark of national gratitude towards the First Consul. Sieyes was the only man who declared that the people alone could decide on this measure : it was however adopted, and the resolution laid before the Chief Consul for his approbation. Bonaparte very dexterously availed himself of this single dissentient vote of Sieyes : he refused his assent, pretending that the people alone could vote him such a mark of confidence. The two other consuls now issued a proclamation, by which the preparing of lists was ordered, in

which every Frenchman might give his vote either for or against a consulate *for life*. The prefects of the departments were commanded to open special lists, and collect the votes; within the short space of three weeks, all lists must be closed and sent in; and every Frenchman, not voting at all, should be looked upon as having assented. The tribunate, the legislative body, and the department of the Seine, instantly voted the consulate for life. The legislative body ordered the presentation of their decree by a grand deputation, and thus closed their pitiful sittings.

The proposal for the creation of a new military nobility, or legion of honour, met with some opposition. The will of the master was carried only by a majority of 56 votes against 38. The re-introduction of slavery found less resistance with these *sage* legislators of a free people. The votes were 211 against 65, and the *noble* assembly was honoured with the thanks of government for its *amiable* disposition.

Books, for the lovers of *flourishing*, were opened in the mean time. Several military and judicial manœuvres were used to entrap votes. This collecting of the voice of the people by inscriptions on lists, is, indeed, a genuine invention: every body may sign them, when he pleases, where he pleases, as often as he pleases, and under any name he pleases. The lists are closed, and no one can find out when, where, and how. The only thing which must astonish, is the incredible dispatch with which the true contents of an amazing number of different special lists are brought to public knowledge.

The people were wrought upon in all the newspapers, whilst those lists continued open. The public officers at Paris signed them of course, but the citizens were rather backward, and even doubtful. The minister of the police, Fouché, and the commandant of the troops in Paris, issued circular letters: the latter complains of disaffected persons, who wanted

to sow distrust among the people, and endeavoured to prevent them from giving their assent : he calls upon the chiefs of battalions to assist him in the pursuit of these disaffected persons, who wish to disturb the public peace. The other solemnly assures the departments, that every thing is tranquil at Paris ; that its peace could not be disturbed, and that no plot existed against the life of the First Consul. A great many lists, full of names, had already been sent in from the departments, before 1000 votes had been collected at Paris. The priests used all their influence upon the common people in favor of their new protector ; and if any body had felt inclined to give his negative, it would have been of no avail, as all those, who did not vote at all, were looked upon as having assented.

Bonaparte delayed, for some time, the publication of these votes. The minister of the interior sent it at last to the senate, accompanied by a letter from the Second Consul,

requesting them to take such steps, as, in their wisdom, they might think best. Of the transactions in the senate, nothing was known : but the sovereign will of the First Consul was executed in the following singular manner. On the 3d of August, when the foreign ambassadors were all assembled at the levée of Bonaparte in the Thuilleries, a number of people entered making a great noise in the palace court. It was the whole senate. Every senator was in a chariot by himself, each of them accompanied by two guards of honor, besides a numerous escort of cavalry, attending the whole. The levée was interrupted ; the circle of the ambassadors opened ; and in came the senate, with poor Barthelemy, their president, at their head. This *good man* began an emphatic address, in which the unspeakable services, rendered by Bonaparte to France, were highly praised. Barthelemy told him that the French nation wished for no greater happiness, than to live under his controul,

during his life ; that they entrusted the first magistracy into his hands for ever ; that by this solemn act of gratitude, they committed to him this sacred charge, in order to render their sittings more durable, to dispel their fears, and to deliver them from all future calamity. After having mightily extolled the greatness of *the hero* and the *regent*, in war and peace, he assured him that the *sénat conservateur* subscribed to all these noble sentiments ; and concluded a pretty long speech, with the reading of the *Senatus Consultum*, by which Bonaparte was appointed Consul for life, in the name of the people ; proclaimed as such by the senate ; and a monument was ordered to be erected in commemoration of the peace.

Bonaparte, who has by no means the gift of speech, whatever his flatterers may have said on that subject, drew a written paper from his pocket, and read the following answer to this address of the senate, who, *certainly took him by surprise* : “ *To the life of a citizen, his*



*country has a just claim. The French people demand, that I shall devote myself to their service ; I obey their will. In giving me now this pledge of their confidence, they impose upon me the sacred duty to establish the system of their laws on principles of wisdom, liberty, equality ; and the welfare of France will be secured against all future vicissitudes."* Many praises on the French people, thanks to the senate, and a compliment to their worthy president, concluded this memorable speech. The senate took leave, and a volley of congratulations followed at last. A council of state was held on the very same evening, in which the new power of "dispelling fears, and removing evil," was eagerly seized and executed. The *senatus consultum* was sent on the following day to the conservative senate for their information. It is a monstrous thing ; it entirely subverts the constitution, and renders the First Consul more absolute than any of the princes throughout Europe. It could not

convey any power to Bonaparte, as it had not previously passed into a law. All new laws must be submitted to the discussion of the tribunate ; but this *senatus consultum* was neither laid before the tribunate, nor was it proposed to the legislative body for assent, as the constitutional law enacts. It has, therefore, according to the existing constitution, no legality at all. The acting upon this *senatus consultum* is the greatest usurpation possible ; it is an open violation of the constitution, and the whole French nation ought to have revolted at it ; but they had lost all power of resistance. The contents of this *senatus consultum* are still more provoking ; by it all true representation of the people is annihilated. The representatives are in future to be chosen by general assemblies, whose members are previously elected by special ones. In each of these a president superintends, who may avail himself of the aid of the military to curb the refractory members. Government may

convoke these assemblies, or suffer the good people to remain at home, if there be any probability of opposition. The members of the electing assembly are also generally members of the legion of honor, or military characters, and have a pension for life from government, in order that they may be quite independent, and have no inducement to please the people. The presidents of both assemblies are appointed by government at every election. If they conduct themselves properly, they may be re-elected. The right of election is, therefore, taken from the people.

The First Consul is also secured by it against all legal resistance or contradiction in future. The administration of justice, and the criminal jurisdiction are at his disposal. The 55th article of the *senatus consultum* is a masterpiece in this respect; it is a final verdict; it runs thus: "1. The senate has the power to suspend the functions of juries, in all the different departments, for five years, whenever

it shall think such a measure necessary. 2. The senate may declare whole departments out of the benefit of the constitution, whenever circumstances shall require it. 3. The senate is to determine at what time all prisoners shall be brought to trial, if it cannot take place within the prescribed ten days after their arrest. 4. The senate may annul the judgments of the civil and criminal courts of justice, if the safety of the state is found to be endangered by them; the senate shall dissolve the legislative body and the tribunate, and appoint the consuls."

The tribunate and the legislative body, hitherto proposed, in concurrence with the First Consul, the candidate to fill up the vacancies in the senate. This is no more the case; the First Consul has now taken this triple charge upon himself alone, to prevent any disappointment in future.

The former law, which ordained, "that no one should be chosen senator before his 40th

year, and that no senator should accept of any other public office, has been abolished, in order to unfetter the hands of the First Consul, who is very well disposed towards his younger brothers, and his favorites among the counsellors of state.

The tribunate is reduced to half the number of the former members, that it may be more easy to overrule them; but if they should happen to be troublesome, the senate may dissolve them as well as the legislative body.

The senate refused, for some time, to turn out some of its members, who had displeased the First Consul by their opposition: and whose ejection the latter demanded. They had not, by their *consultum*, so readily agreed to the proposal of a consul for life; but only granted ten years. The other two consuls, who never before acted by themselves, were then instructed to come forth with their proposal of a consulate for life, which was not at all sanctioned by the *senatus consultum*. The

grateful and generous First Consul could not let this service pass unrequited ; he could do nothing less than confirm them consuls for life ; and he did so, without asking any body.

The senate has, in future, no president of its own choice ; but one of the consuls always presides there ; nor dare they pass any *senatus consultum*, unless a proposal have been made by government to that effect.

All royal prerogatives, as for instance, the power of concluding treaties, of declaring war, of granting pardon to criminals, of appointing judges, &c. were also granted to the First Consul.

A cotemporary writer has powerfully urged these innovations, and concludes his notes in the following terms : “ Thus every thing has returned, after an unfortunate roundabout way, to the very point from which it set out ; yet with this difference, that in former times an opposition of the independent states and bodies, might be shewn to the royal pleasure ;



‘*Tel est notre bon plaisir,*’ whereas now every body must bow in silence under the consular majesty.”

The *Moniteur* announced this arbitrary subversion of all rights of the people, and of all former laws, as a blessed step towards every good that could be wished for. Other newspapers asserted, that the equality of right and sovereignty of the people had been most wonderfully secured by these new provisions. Fouché, the minister of police, joined in the chorus, and sweetly chaunted the praises of this restoration of all the different ancient privileges of the people.

All his compliance with government, all his zeal in spying out, in arresting, and in deporting his fellow-citizens, who had rendered themselves obnoxious or disagreeable to the First Consul, at the time of the voting for the consulate for life; all was not sufficient to maintain him in his place. He had been denounced to the First Consul, and had fallen

under his suspicion ; the place of minister of police was therefore abolished, and its functions were confided to the prefect of police, who acts under the direction of the present grand judge, and minister of justice, Reigner. No one of all the ministers is so generally hated and despised as this Reigner ; and Bonaparte probably thought him, on that account, the very person upon whom he might most effectually rely for his security. Fouché went over into the council of state, with several other persons, and now sits there, tied up, close under the eye of the despot. He has gained no other benefit from this transplantation, than the secure enjoyment of his estates, which he purchased to the amount of several millions, in the neighbourhood of Paris, whilst he was minister of police.

The newspapers and journals in the pay of Bonaparte, who of late had made it their duty to ridicule the ignorance and political perverseness of some antidespotic critics, and to

infect the public with their venal doctrine about the wisdom of the measures of government, found it expedient to use the same artifice with regard to the abolished ministry of police. It evidently appears from their paragraphs on this head, that there are three different branches of police in France, the joint care of which might be too dangerous if trusted to the hands of one minister alone. Of these three different branches, the one is called *police locale*, which is confided to the commissaries of the police, who have it in charge to watch over the cleanliness, salubrity, and peaceful order of the city. The other is called *police judiciaire*, which is to be in future under the sole direction of the grand judge or minister of justice ; its duty is to trace, watch, and imprison not only those suspected persons whom the law cannot take hold of, but even those who had been set at liberty for want of satisfactory proof, after having been taken up by government, and who are still looked

upon as dangerous. This branch was in former times committed to the lieutenant of police, who was the natural president of that court "Président né au châtelet." The third branch is called, "*haute police*, or, *police générale*." It extends over all parts of the republic indiscriminately; it may seize any one suspected of being concerned in a plot; it may lay hold of any troublesome person: it has an immense number of agents and emissaries prowling all over France, who may call on the military for assistance whenever they chuse; they are unknown to the public, and are always acting incognito; have a general centre to which they repair; have the exorbitant power of seizing any body, though no complaint be alleged against him; and of punishing even on bare suspicion. Such a power might have been too dangerous in the hands of a man like Fouché. The grand judge may be better depended upon.

Imprisonments and deportations became

more and more frequent, under this new direction of the police; yet they were carried on with greater secrecy. The temple was so full, that it could hold no more: the state prison at Vincennes was accordingly repaired and enlarged. About 60 persons of all ranks and classes were deported in the month of August alone. The exiling into distant departments every one who freely and publicly ventured to give his opinion, had no end. This was most frequently the fate of emigrant noblemen who had returned to France, and were again driven away by the extremely equivocal and contradictory conduct of Bonaparte and his ministers. It often happened, that such emigrants, after obtaining warrants from government, by which the restoration of their former estates was most strictly and formally commanded; and, after proceeding to the spot to take possession, were sent back, in conformity to secret letters from the ministers, to the prefects in the departments, by which

they were prohibited from executing these warrants.

These unfortunate noblemen, who frequently were not possessed of sufficient money, or, perhaps, not having cunning enough to effect the recal of these secret prohibitions in the same way in which they generally obtained the former warrants, could not always brook in silence these violations of justice. They grew rather loud; but there wanted only a little hint to the police, to put in force the provision of that law, by which all returned emigrants were placed, for the first ten years, under its immediate inspection. They were exiled to any place which the police assigned them, and compelled to submit without being permitted to appeal.

Talleyrand's uncle, the baron d'Archaubeau, and a returned emigrant, suspected of a secret correspondence with England, were in the number of those so taken up and exiled.

Many of the generals, then living in Paris,



viz. Massena, Delmas, Augereau, and several others, were exiled from court to their estates ; and those, who were not possessed of estates at a distance from Paris, were sent to the remotest parts of France.

Even foreigners were treated in the same manner, if they could not give an account of the letters or packets directed to persons abroad, that had been stopped at the post-office and confiscated there. Several persons of note, who were looked upon as dangerous, either on account of their connexions, their way of thinking, or their talents, received orders to leave the republic. The famous Mad. de Stael, the daughter of M. Necker, a lady of real genius, and possessed of considerable property, who had attracted the particular notice of Bonaparte, by the freedom which she took in her writings, was sent away from France ; and Benjamin Constant, a Swiss, of sound understanding, and a good writer, shared the same fate. Madame de Stael, perhaps, owed

this treatment to a late work of her father's, published under the title of "*Dernières vues de politique*," which deservedly censures the mixture of a monarchical and republican government, introduced by Bonaparte, in order to blind the French, and to cover his designs.

Whilst Bonaparte was thus clearing his way, a journal was set on foot, to combat all former principles of liberty, equality, &c. It was the vile production of the infamous Barrere, who directed its base attacks chiefly against Condorcet and Camille Jourdan. It bore the title of "*Journal des défenseurs de la patrie*," and stood under the special superintendence of Fouché, then minister of police. This execrable Barrere, this cringing sycophant, the villainous speaking trumpet of all tyrants and raving monsters, who dishonored the French revolution, is still in the service of government, and is the most active member of an inquisitorial court, instituted against men of letters and learning. He served all parties

alike ; but, when the decisive moment arrived, he always turned ; and, by this shameful verfatility and grofs infamy, he has efaped all fentences of deportation paffed againft him. Who knows, whether he has not two different fpeeches quite ready in his defk, teeming both with curfes or bleffings on Bonaparte, as was the cafe in the time of Robefpierre ; but I fear the prefent defpot will hardly give him an opportunity ; for, whatever Bonaparte may do, and how pliant foever the French may appear, he will never think himfelf fo far fecure, as to relax an inflant in his moft anxious cares for his perfonal fafety.

This attention of his was too vifible on the 21ft of Auguft, at the fittings of the fenate, where Bonaparte prefided for the firft time. The governor of the palace, the commanding general of the confular guard, the general infpectors of the genfdarmes, of the artillery and engineers, were ready to prevent any accident to his perfon. The whole

of the consular horse-guards and mamelukes closely surrounded him : the foot-guards, and all the regular troops in and about Paris, were marched up, and formed a double hedge within which Bonaparte might safely pass. In his fuite followed the two other consuls, the ministers, many of the counsellors of state, the secretary of state, and the prefect of the police. Some of the senators met him at the bottom of the stairs leading to the palace, and conducted him to the assembly room, which had been filled with guards. His brothers, Lucien and Joseph, who, by the by, are also members of the council of administration and of the legion of honor, though the constitution does not permit it, took the oath of allegiance first, and the rest of the senators followed. This oath did not contain the mock terms of liberty and equality : it was unnecessary here, as there was no populace to be imposed upon. Some counsellors of state and orators of government now proposed very

weighty matters for the *senatus consultum*, which were of course instantly agreed to, and claim particular attention. The fittings of the senate, and the ceremonies to be observed, were regulated by the first *senatus consultum*. The election of the members of the legislative bodies, and their going out of office every year, is settled by the second. The third regulates the form of proceedings in case Bonaparte should like to dissolve the tribunate and the legislative body altogether. The fourth names the twenty-four cities, whose mayors must be present at the administration of the oath, which that citizen, whom the consul might fix on for his successor, is obliged to take. The terms *equality* and *liberty* are left out in this oath of the successor likewise. It stands thus : “ I swear to preserve the constitution ; to honor the liberty of conscience ; to resist the introduction of feudal regulations ; never to carry on war except for the defence and honor of the republic ; and to use the



power intrusted to me for the benefit of the people alone, from whom and for whom I have received it."

The poor man, who has to take this oath, if he wished to be something more than the successor apparent during Bonaparte's life, ought to take an oath, that he would be another Bonaparte to keep up his constitution, if that could be of any benefit to him. But I fear that alone will not do it: and if Bonaparte will only be guided in the choice of his successor by fear and anxiety for his life and safety, as it is probable, he will fare like the son of Cromwell, if not worse. Many think that Bonaparte intends to name his brother Joseph his successor, but that he will only do so in his last will, and not name him whilst he is alive. Such a *will* might probably share no better fate than that of Louis XIV.

Bonaparte, after having gone through all these grand ceremonies and processions, on which the ignorant gaping rabble greeted him,



as usual, with loud huzzas, was now met by his wife with greater exultation than ever the late unfortunate queen of France felt in meeting her *good* Louis. Both could now fully and securely satisfy their proud desire of royal pomp and magnificence : their prodigality knew no bounds. Several millions of livres had already been wasted to fit up their palaces in the Thuilleries, at Malmaison and St. Cloud: still this was not sufficient : St. Cloud was to be made more splendid than it ever had been, and unlimited orders were given to that effect. The parks adjoining several country seats of the late king were enlarged and stocked with deer. Hounds and hunters were bought, and some even fetched from England, though Bonaparte is not at all fond of the chase. To the menial servants of their household, who were already very numerous, a great many more were added. All kinds of officers established at any of the European courts, were introduced : those who had held such offices be-

fore, were eagerly fought, and intrusted with these important charges; great salaries were appointed them. A play-house, in imitation of that which the former royal court had at Versailles, was built at St. Cloud. A numerous band of musicians was provided. Bonaparte appointed four prefects of the police; in imitation of the former *gentils hommes du roi*, who were to attend his person alone, and to superintend the theatre, the performance, and the performers. This latter duty is rigidly observed by them; and they are not suffered to turn their backs upon the box of the First Consul, not even when it is empty. The poor performers dare not obey their author; when he orders them to say any thing aside, they must look forward. Madame Bonaparte has four ladies of the bed-chamber assigned to her, who are provided with every thing, and have besides 8000 livres for pin money.

Bonaparte had already laid hold of the precious crown diamond, which now glitters at the hilt of his state sword, and is hung up

with other trophies at his bed-side. Madame Bonaparte would not be behind hand: she seized upon the golden toilet of the late unfortunate queen, which had hitherto escaped all those shameless thieves that sprung up during the revolution. Madame Bonaparte is however daily growing more ugly since she looked into the mirror of the late beautiful Antoinette; it certainly was not the tenderness of her conscience, which caused such a sad alteration. In order to introduce into their new court a princely magnificence, they wanted that which neither influence nor wealth could procure, viz. a numerous retinue of nobility. Whatever Bonaparte may have achieved, and how far he may flatter himself with having succeeded; however assiduous and submissive Madame Bonaparte may have been towards Madame Montesson, (the *foi disant* wife of the late infamous Duke of Orleans' father) at whose house the most ancient noblesse used to assemble; she could obtain no other favour for herself and

family than the admission to some of their small parties, where she has occasionally the honour to be seated between dukes, marquises, counts, and barons, and to hear these fine titles tingling in her ears; but to draw only a *few* members, and even the most *unworthy* from this holy circle, in order to place them in her own retinue, was utterly impossible.

Segur, the ex-minister, being newly appointed to a high office in administration, indulged his youngest son so far, as to allow him to accept the place of a vice prefect of the palace. The noble league instantly rose against him in a body, as he was reckoned among the high and ancient nobility, on account of one of his ancestors having been a *maréchal de France*. All the citizens with “*de*” before their surname, who figured at the new court in the liveries of prefects, vice prefects, &c. were looked upon by the *rigorists* as the servile and lesser nobility of former times.

But fortune will not always smile; her greatest favorites will one time or other meet with some impediment in their way; some obstacle to their desires. He who rode triumphant over Mount St. Gothard, and through the sandy deserts of Syria: he who gives law to the greatest part of Europe; and disposes at his will of the finest countries: this mighty chief, at the head of so populous an empire, feels desires that he cannot satisfy. Casting his longing eye around, he fixes it by chance upon the saloon of Madame de Monteffan. It happened at that moment to be crowded with persons of the first rank—"Those nobles shall be my attendants," he cries; and immediately dispatches his devoted dæmons with invitations, offers, and promises. But promises, offers, and invitations are ineffectual; the messenger returns disappointed and chagrined; he tells him that all his efforts have been fruitless; that their demands were far beyond what he would accede to.



The angry fearful man is thus compelled to stand alone on the pinnacle of his newly-acquired dignity ; watching night and day these rebels to his will. Their words, their actions, their looks, are equally objects of his suspicion ; not even a gesture is suffered to escape him. Alarmed by continual fears, when they assemble in great numbers, he immediately disperses them. If they flee back to the coast, they are driven to the mountains ; if they take refuge among the rocks, they are hunted to the sea.

His slaves obey the hint, pursue them, and, panting for breath, return to catch the despot's new orders, and find their pale-faced master leaning on his still more pale-faced dæmon ; both turning their faint and envious looks towards the saloon of Madame de Montessan, the resort of this disobedient and obstinate noblesse.

But to return : these noble sufferers are the only persons who dare stand in opposition to



the First Consul. They live in their own country as in a strange land ; they take no notice of the new court, its festivities, or brilliant assemblies. They only did not adopt the new fashions introduced by the new comers. Even those among them, who have saved great estates, or still possess sufficient property to live in a sumptuous style, do not make any public display. Their small social assemblies contain alone, what may be called *la bonne compagnie* ; and as most of them are men of refined manners, and many of them well-informed, and of great fame ; several of them the most distinguished literati in royal France, they keep within their own circle. All foreigners of education, naturally disgusted with the awkward behaviour, and the tasteless luxury, of the present court, endeavour to be admitted into their society ; an honor by no means easily obtained ; still, it must be owned, that the fine Paris of old, which had so much attraction for every man of taste, of educa-

tion, and good breeding, can only be met with in these select societies. I will not blame Madame Bonaparte, who lived as maid of honour to the late queen, for sighing after the only respectable society at Paris ; but she must renounce the happiness of seeing these persons in her suite at court. Many inducements have certainly been given them ; but they all seem to say ; restore us the old court, with all its appendages ; that will be well : but we shall never be brought to acknowledge these upstarts for its rightful owners.

The very cause which renders Mad. Bonaparte so desirous to associate with the old noblesse, must induce the latter to keep at a distance. There is nothing of that politeness, ease, vivacity and grace, which signalised the societies at the royal court. Every body stares with a slavish gaze at the First Consul, who treats them indiscriminately in a dry, cold, and harsh manner. He sometimes attempts

to be polite or witty, but his politeness is a proud condescension, and his wit is satire. There is always something rough or low in his way of expressing himself. He frequently makes use of terms, only to be found in the mouth of the upstart foldier, and proscribed by all good company. He is capable of using the most abusive language with the greatest indifference. The tone of his voice is deep and hoarse, and what he says is often accompanied with such a disagreeable laugh, that nobody can feel easy with him, even when he attempts to say the most agreeable things.

The highest officers of state must sometimes hear themselves addressed by epithets, which certainly never escaped the lips of a sovereign. If he think he has caught one of his ministers or privy counsellors in something contradictory, he frequently says, "*vous etes un homme de mauvaise foi ;*" or—"vous me trompez."—(You are a man not to be trusted—you cheat me.)

He uses no restraint in this respect with his own wife. He can publicly address her in the severest manner, if, by chance, he do not approve of her dress and deportment, as being too free, too improper, or unbecoming. The beautiful Mad. Tallien, the intimate friend of Mad. Bonaparte, when once, after a somewhat long absence of her husband, she appeared in a visible state of pregnancy in her saloon, which was full of company, she was asked by him, quite loud and sternly, how she could dare to appear in this state before his wife! and he then ordered her instantly to leave the room.

The present wife of M. Talleyrand, who is reported not always to have acted the part of a rigid prude, when Madame Grand, was complimented by him, at her first introduction into the circle of Mad. Bonaparte, in the following manner:—" *J'espere, que Mad. Talleyrand, fera oublier Madame Grand.*" The poor woman is said to have answered in the

greatest confusion—"that she would always be proud to follow the example of Mad. Bonaparte."—If Mad. Talleyrand had been looked upon as a lady of parts, her answer might have been thought a witty one.

When the principal fingers at the opera, who had performed Haydn's oratorio of the Creation, on the evening after the explosion of the infernal machine, went to him in a body, to express their joy on his escape, he said to them—"vous avez chanté comme des cochons."

At the dissolution of the national institute, when it was again divided into the four old academies, and the latter refused to receive among them as members those musicians and players who had been admitted to the institute, Bonaparte said to one of them—"les mathématiciens vous jetteront le pot de chambre sur la tête, ils ne veulent plus de vous."

Even the foreign ambassadors, who are respected in all civilized courts as the represen-

tatives of their fovereign's perfon, can never think themselves fecure againft his offensive and injurious language, neither at the levee, nor at Mad. Bonaparte's galas.

The British and Swedifh ambaffadors have frequently experienced his rudeness and ill humor during laft winter; and, if he even chofe to fay any thing agreeable, it was generally directed to another, ftanding near, to whom he owed a grudge.

His air and deportment are indeed more dignified than could be expected from fuch a little meagre body, with an unmeaning yellow face; yet even there, the fixed character of the inward man, is discoverable. He fhews by no means that humane difpofition and fenfibility which, added to a noble deportment, attraft and enchant every beholder. This will hardly ever be his happy lot; and of all the weak and cringing attendants, who appear trembling and terrified before this high and mighty chieftain, few will be found with a



feeling attachment to him. They will, perhaps, appear satisfied, when they have had the good fortune to come off unoffended, and more so, if by chance they have caught a friendly nod from him; but, surely, they must watch him eagerly, if they wish for such an honor; for his stiff neck bends but slightly either to a prince or at the shrine of female beauty.

At the grand public levees, and on the gala days, which are regularly kept every month, this noble pair have all the affectation and formality of the most ancient courts of Europe; the bending of the knee is the only ceremony not yet introduced. Every body is compelled to appear in a courtly dress. The First Consul does not put on a military uniform on those days; but, with the exception of the bag, he is in complete court dress, yet always of the same cut and colour. He wears his richly embroidered consular robes over it. The two other Consuls are dressed in the same manner; and

his ministers appear in their state uniforms. The uniform of the counsellors of state has been worn by him on a few occasions. His military guard and his retinue are, on every such day, very numerous and splendid.

From the Second Consul down to the lowest private of the guards at the gate, every one has his fixed place assigned him, which he dares not leave for a single moment, and where he remains immovable, staring at his neighbour, who is also fastened to the ground, without speaking a single word. Bonaparte alone goes the rounds in the circle formed only by the ambassadors and foreigners of distinction. The minister of foreign affairs, now M. Talleyrand, can only enter this circle, when a new ambassador is to be presented.

Bonaparte should always have this piece of stuff at his side as a foil. It is impossible to see a more lifeless, ill-shaped machine, hung out with a wide glittering state uniform, than this Talleyrand. The greatest relaxation of

the body, with hollow cheeks, and a death-like eye, announce the profligate, broken-down and enervated sensualist. His worn-out carcase is moved on slowly in short, uncertain steps by a pair of club feet. His tardy, loathsome utterance shew the fatiated, disdainful state of his mind ; he must, indeed, be a great physiognomist, who could discover the fine, cunning, ex-bishop and statesman, who dupes France and Europe, by this disgusting lifeless cover, by the small remains of fire still visible in his eyes, and by the insipid fallow hue of his complexion.

No Frenchman, since Mirabeau, was ever so generally and so decidedly stamped with the double character of the utmost moral depravity and the greatest superiority in the faculties of the mind. Mirabeau, though he signalized himself during the revolution as a statesman and orator, though in full possession of popular favor, still shewed great energy and art to establish a constitutional monarchy,

for he would have nothing else; he destroyed himself by his extravagancies and profligacy, which soon brought him to the grave, and only the fame of his moral turpitude has outlived him.

This sensual pliant bishop of Autun, was from the beginning of the revolution the friend and companion of Mirabeau, in all his debaucheries. He, Talleyrand Perigord, descended from one of the most ancient families of France, was the first who resigned his clerical dignity, and polluted his noble descent to side with the *Tiers état*, when they demanded in the national assembly the equilisation of all orders, under the direction of Sieyes and Mirabeau. He formed the secret committee with Sieyes and eight other members, who drew up the plan of the first constitution. He was in conjunction with Mirabeau and Sieyes, the first founder of the jacobin club, and afterwards of the new club of jacobins in 1789. He was the first who pro-

posed the general sale of all clerical property. He maintained that the clergy had not the right of secular proprietors, and that it was in the power of government to apply their revenues destined to defray the expences of public worship to other purposes. He stood up as a champion against the clergy and noblemen of France, who demanded the Roman Catholic religion, the sole reigning one in France. He endeavoured to obtain for Mirabeau, Voltaire, and Rousseau, the honor of being deposited in the Pantheon, formerly the church of St. Genevieve. He celebrated mass on the altar of liberty, in the field of Mars, at the grand festival of the federation. He consecrated the colors of the departments, and called them the sacred banners of liberty. But, as soon as the constitutional party found itself embarrassed, and in a precarious state, he was the first to desert it, and had the art to obtain from the minister a secret mission to England.

When he was sent out of that country, he sought an asylum, with several other emigrants in America. When his name was discovered in those private papers of the king, which were taken from a secret desk, and on which the chief accusations against the unfortunate good monarch were founded, he was put on the list of emigrants by the national convention. He availed himself of a favourable moment, and induced the very same convention that had signed his proscription, to erase his name from the list, and to reinstate him in all his property. He then returned to France, and was appointed minister by the directory, which superseded this convention. Sieyes, who too well knew the episcopal renegado, came into the directory, and Talleyrand thought proper to retire, loaded with immense riches. An unfortunate honest German was substituted by him to weather the storm, which arose during the dreadful epoch of a directorial commission. He knew how to



supplant this man, as soon as it was safe to re-enter the ministry.

In conjunction with Lucien Bonaparte, his confidant and companion in his debaucheries, he had, in the mean time, by secret intrigues, plotted the return of Napoleon Bonaparte from Egypt; he, with the latter, prepared the blow which was to be levelled against Barras, the first promoter of Bonaparte's exaltation, and Sieyes, the old rival of this ex-bishop: they succeeded. Bonaparte stood at the head as First Consul, and Talleyrand as principal minister, by his side; what he has done for the last four years, whilst in this important office, is sufficiently notorious; but it is, perhaps, less known, that by his example the most infamous bribery has been introduced into all public offices in France. Bribery was always more frequent there, than in any other country; but some forms and decency were still observed. It was necessary at least to find out some pretext, if any body

wished to move the heart of the minister and his underlings, by the grand and universal softener of feelings. At present there is no need of it. The minister and his commissary say exactly like the French general and his quarter-master in an enemy's country, "*Il me faut tant*,"—(I must have so much.) If you refuse me, you shall have nothing, whatever your right or claim may be.

It may also not be so well known abroad as it is at Paris, that it was Talleyrand who chiefly effected the recal of the noblemen and clergy. This man, who formerly ordered the seizure of their property, and thereby prepared their proscription; who violently opposed them when they wanted the restoration of the catholic faith, the only one tolerated in France, now labours to the same purpose. He applied even to the pope for a dispensation to marry a woman with whom he had long cohabited, and whom he might have married before, like his other brothers in iniquity. He,

the trumpeting advocate of the rights of man: the most ardent combatant against lotteries, and all kind of gambling: he is now the chief instrument of a government, that tramples upon all rights of men indiscriminately, and draws a very great income from lotteries and licences for public gambling-houses of all kinds. He, the worshipper of Mirabeau, Voltaire, and Rousseau, is now the handle of a despot, a sworn enemy to these men, who hates freedom of opinion; who strives to annihilate all liberal instruction. He may say again, as he did in his late defence, "I am minister for foreign affairs, and have nothing to do with the home department:" but every one who has watched him, knows very well what he chiefly aims at. Even by the most expensive and sumptuous style in which he lives, he cannot spend his income. He looks upon himself therefore with the most self-proud complacency; and treats every body who has to deal with him in the most arro-

gant and contemptuous manner. Foreigners of the highest rank, nay, even foreign ladies of distinction, must be presented to him in the same manner as to Bonaparte; and he scarcely condescends to speak to them, dispatching them sometimes with a hum or a nod. His power over the chief consul increases daily, and must increase, as he is the only one who is thoroughly versed in a thousand things, which Bonaparte and his nearest attendants know nothing of.

Another pompous ecclesiastic, clumsy as he may appear, is Cardinal Caprara, who has a greater influence over Bonaparte than perhaps may be supposed: the power of these two has been the subject of a very good caricature in Paris. It represents the miserable figure of Talleyrand with his club feet, seizing both hands of Bonaparte, and making him dance, whilst the smiling and simpering cardinal is playing the fiddle. This print, which no one will dare perhaps to expose, originated

with Bonaparte himself. He ventured one evening, when only a small party assembled at Madame Bonaparte's, to dance with his dear step-daughter, Madame Lucien : he performed rather awkwardly, as this was his first attempt of the kind—so most likely will it be the last. Even on this merry occasion, he found an opportunity of shewing his despotic and unfeeling heart. When it came into his head to dance, he took off his sword and offered it to the next bye-stander, without looking at him. This bye-stander happened unfortunately to be an officer of rank, who thought it against the point of honor to accept it, and therefore stepped back to wait till one of the servants might come and take it. Bonaparte then looked at this officer sternly, and said, in a terrible hoarse kind of voice, "*Mais oui ! je me suis bien trompé.*" He then made a sign to a general, on whose readiness he could depend, and gave him the sword, which he snatched with great eager-

ness. When the too punctilious officer returned home, he already found an order, by which he was directed to depart on the next day for St. Domingo. A young officer is reported to have shared the very same fate, on account of his being too merry, and imprudently jumping upon the First Consul's foot.

The re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion occasioned another caricature, in which Bonaparte is represented as falling from the arms of the goddess of Victory on his nose, against the holy water pot. It is a pity that no caricaturist from England was present at this time, to observe the awkwardness which the novice shewed on every occasion. Many public ceremonies might have furnished rich matter, as, for instance, the manner in which the personal safety of Bonaparte was to be secured on Easter-day, the grand festival of the re-introduction of the Roman Catholic religion. They had erected in the church of



Notre Dame (which is a master-piece of Gothic architecture,) a small chapel with wooden, painted columns in the choir, close before the grand altar. Bonaparte, with his servants, was shut up and entirely separated from the rest of the congregation, in order that he might be secure against any attempt on his life. But this unfightly building did not only shut up the passage to the choir, it entirely prevented the people assembled in this spacious church from seeing the altar, on which high mass was celebrated.

The more than royal pomp observed on this occasion ; the assemblage of all the orders of state, civil and military ; the rich liveries of the servants of the Consul and his ministers ; the foreign ambassadors, who were ordered to appear in their coaches and four ; the many costly trappings which adorned the family, from the crown-diamond at Bonaparte's sword down to the laces and robes of mother, wife,

sisters, and sisters-in-law ; all this presented a most remarkable, republican sight.

Our hero was met by the high clergy at the entrance of the church, while the guns were firing a salute in honor of this reformed, christian king, who bent the knee at the high mass, celebrated by the Cardinal Legate, and in return, received the oath from the bishops. All these fine things and persons, in contrast with all these grand, political and spiritual peace-makers, the honest Mamelukes close by their fearful master, on the watch for the preservation of his sacred life ; this, indeed, was a curious spectacle.

The Parisian populace was delighted ; they vociferated their applauses and loud huzzas around the shewmen ; but they betrayed not that spirit which was formerly exhibited at the grand festival of the federation. The police ordered the houses of some streets to be lighted up, and this illumination concluded the day.

It is reported that the letters of indulgence which the Cardinal Legate offered for sale on this, and thirty successive days, did not find many purchasers, though they contained a full absolution and spiritual pardon for every sin committed during the last ten years, and for every one who would go to confession, and devoutly receive the sacred host. The common people even went so far as to laugh and pass their jokes upon it.

The official papers, and chiefly the *Moniteur*, exulted in the pretended harmony of the Roman and Protestant churches, and the reconciliation of all sects and parties, under the banners of republicanism, as they were pleased to call it. They rejoiced at the defeat of sophistry, and at the grand union of the Gallican church with the Papal chair. Some of the adversaries of the concordat certainly spoke another language. The constitutional bishop of Angoulême, de Combe, and the senator ex-bishop, Gregoire, published some letters to

show how far a union of the Gallican church with the Papal chair might be carried; what degree of respect was due to the legate, and in what light the concordat ought to be looked upon. They were very impertinent in their assertions, and maintained that they had no need of pardon, but that they, on the contrary, had the right to pardon others. The legate demanded a recantation, which they refused. The forgiveness he offered was rejected with contempt. He is still every where exposed to the witticism of the philosophers, and to the accusations of the most contemptible among the constitutional priests. With the naturalists and theophilanthropists, Mr. Legate will fare still worse, when they learn that he has now obtained from the Consul the suppression of all their public meetings.

The cardinal writes, indeed, in rather too common a style for a refined Frenchman. He begins his grand annunciation of indulgence

in these words: " War is at last ended, and all Frenchmen rejoice at it ; but they rejoice still more on account of the re-introduction of the Roman Catholic religion, and the recovery of their old liberty." After many low and hackneyed expressions in honour of the First Consul and the Pope, he calls upon the French to free themselves from the bondage of the devil by the water of penitence, and promises to every one the ample forgiveness and remission of all their sins, if they will go and confess to any priest they chuse.

For the common class of the nation he has again been too ready in following the economical ideas of the First Consul, and abolishing all holy days, only leaving them four, namely, Christmas, Ascension, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and All Saints. They certainly are not kept too much from their labor, nor too frequently restrained from going to mass ; but as the Protestants have now more holy days than the Catholics in

France, and as the common people are rather inclined that way, their disposition to turn Protestants may still be increased by this circumstance. In the Prytaneum and other Parisian schools, such a disposition has frequently manifested itself among the pupils, and their parents have not always refused their consent ; yet government has prohibited it.

This inclination has shewn itself still more in the departments, where whole families have turned Protestants to escape the hateful tyranny of priests over their consciences. Among the inhabitants of several towns, at Amiens for instance, and at Arles, more Protestants are to be found than one should imagine. Government is very attentive to this ; and it has more than once been reported, that it was intended to obtain a brevet from the holy Father, by which every one should be prohibited from changing his religion, unless particularly licensed by government.



It must revolt every impartial observer, to hear that all those men who are now placed in the highest offices, make use of the appellations, Protestant, Encyclopediast, Illuminati, Democrat, Jacobin, Terrorist, Man of Blood, (homme de sang,) as denoting one and the same thing. A Mr. Fievée, who lately published a small book against the philosophers of the eighteenth century and the English, very properly, and with great naïveté, defines this philosophy in the following manner :  
“ *Pour moi lorsque je dis philosophie du xviii. Siècle j’entends tout ce qui est faux en morale, en législation et en politique.\** ”

It is, indeed, as if men were only capable of impartial and sound judgment, as long as they stand below, and instantly mistake every

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\* As for me, by the philosophy of the eighteenth century, I understand whatever is false in legislation, morality, and politics.

thing as soon as they have climbed up the hill ; or, is it only, when placed on high, that men can discover the littleness of the world below, and the folly or wickedness of those who try to soar above their fellows ? If the latter be the case, who will blame the tyrant, if surrounded by base, selfish, shameless flatterers, and hungry slaves—if greeted by the abject rabble---if dreaded and belied by all, as far as his eye can reach ; I say, who will blame him, if he then despise mankind, and think them incapable and unworthy of genuine liberty and true wisdom, which must go hand in hand in the road that leads to happiness. Who will blame him, if he yield to this painful thought, after having seen a whole talkative nation, overlooking his public violence, and the clandestine manoeuvres, by which he and his helpmates raised themselves ; exhausting itself in all the terms and expressions of flattery towards him ; if after being publicly extolled like a god by his

execrable and fawning ex-bishop : after seeing every one worshipping the new deity, who will blame him, if fatiated, and loathing fulsome endless praises, he descries a mean orator before him, beginning his speech with expressions of hypocritical sorrow to his master, who endowed with godlike indulgence, is still too rigorous in not allowing the high praises which gratitude is anxious to bestow; who profanely says, that heaven, unwilling to grant all celestial gifts to man, had only refused Bonaparte the courage to hear his well-deserved panegyric publicly pronounced. Who then can blame the tyrant, if he trample upon such mean and truly contemptible beings.\*

By such homages offered to him on all sides, and not interrupted by one single sound

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\* The above were the very words by which Dutheil, the translator of Plutarch's essay on the means to distinguish a flatterer from a friend, addressed the First Consul, congratulating him on the restoration of peace, in the name of the national institute.

of reproach or just remonstrance, the intoxicated conqueror must forget himself, and that he has stifled the voice of truth; the most resolute among the cunning will now bend their knee to the tyrant, whose fury inflicts an equal punishment on the man who spoke freely, and on the bravado who drew his dagger; but with eager and revengeful looks will he watch the moment, when he can plunge the weapon into his breast. If the daring, and hitherto fortunate usurper, be not the most artful, not the most watchful among the insidious, not the quickest to punishment among the revengeful; he will not be secured against the embrace of a treacherous Judas, who may give the signal for his destruction. Nay, be he ever so observant, still he may, in the pretended embrace, meet his doom.—Dreadful existence!

Bonaparte, disgusted at all the flatteries which the Parisians lavished upon him, now

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in expectation of the English ambassador, who delayed his arrival till the month of November, went to Rouen, Havre, and the western coast, to put every thing in a better state of defence, and to receive the homage of the provinces. The public offices and municipalities of these towns were not backward in their compliments ; they vied with each other, and poured in volleys of congratulations upon the First Consul and his lady, and these were most graciously received by the noble couple. The municipalities, the clergy, the citizens, and their daughters, always directed their speeches, accompanied with presents, to each of them separately. A clergyman in his speech called Bonaparte “ *L’homme de la droite du très haut, qui commande le respect et l’étonnement à tout l’univers.*” The innocent girls at Beauvais, who under the protection of the speech-maker, might have drawn the traits of their hero with all the liveliness of their imagination, called him, “ Le hercule

françois ; to whom they offered their libation and gifts (sacrifices et libations.) They must have been thunderstruck with the unexpected little, meagre, yellow figure, under which their hero appeared. But hired orators are not so over-nice in these matters, for they spoke even of “ *graces toutes puissantes,*” of “ *vertus,*” and of “ *inépuisable bonté céleste dont vous êtes la plus séduisante image.*” When they addressed Madame Bonaparte, the popular air beginning with the words, “ *Où peut on être mieux qu’au sein de sa famille,*” which had been written in honor of Louis XVI. and his beautiful queen, was publicly sung, and applied to Bonaparte and his wife, at Havre ; but as a proof how far the French had lost all sense of propriety, they complimented the English ambassador just arrived at Calais, with the same air, and almost at the same time.

People abroad could not find out the reason why Madame Bonaparte always accompanied



her husband on these excursions, and why such a train of servants and military always followed them at the expence of the public. The constant proximity of Madame Bonaparte at table, and at night (for the Consul never dines without her, and always sleeps in the same bed with her,) is nothing else than a well calculated manœuvre for his personal safety. A thousand little things, tending in appearance only to their comfort, which are carefully observed every night, and in every house where they chance to sleep, would appear to Frenchmen, as very despicable little measures for his personal safety alone. Madame Bonaparte also knows, like the rest of the family, how to insure some benefit and profit for herself from these pretty excursions; why then should he rob her of the opportunity?—There never was perhaps a princess, or a favourite mistress of a sovereign, who was so eager for every thing, that the country and the inhabitants can afford, than this wo-

man. If this be contrasted with the unheard of prodigality, by which Bonaparte enriches all his brothers : it can be explained either by supposing all the French and Italian members of the family, infested with the meanest and most insatiable avarice, or by imagining in them a due sense of their precarious state, and a design to be somewhat prepared for the worst.

The roads which Bonaparte had to pass, were guarded by numerous detachments of troops, who followed him; whilst he was always closely surrounded by his own guards. He had there an opportunity of perceiving that he was no longer the darling and the first hero of the army. The troops who shortly before expressed on several occasions their zeal and enthusiasm for Moreau; behaved with great coolness, and were quite silent whilst he was near. He was more than once compelled to hear the complaints of the army, as to their being absolutely neglected.

Though the price of provisions has risen to the double and treble of former times, the common French soldier has still no more than the old daily pay of five French fous, and a pound and a half of bread : the infantry and cavalry have the same scanty allowance. The grenadiers, who are picked from the battalion, have only six fous. Of this money, which is paid every fifth day, very little goes into the hand of the soldier. The corporal, with whom ten or twelve are generally compelled to board, receives their pay, and, after indemnifying himself, divides the remainder. The soldier is still worse off at present, as all common and public labor on the road or in the fields is prohibited. If he be brought up a mechanic, he may practise his business at home ; still he must have the leave of his commander to do so.

It is not the insufficient pay alone which renders the soldier discontented ; his being indifferently clothed, and badly mounted, adds

to it. The army had been promised new and better uniform since the peace. The infantry were to have been dressed in white, instead of their present blue coats; and the several corps were to be distinguished by facings of a different color. A few regiments have received their new cloaths, but none are yet dressed in white. The old blue uniforms are, since the last war, grown very ragged; and the foldier is more sensible of this neglect, as he daily hears of the increasing magnificence at the court of the consul, his former general, and often sees that many of his commanders now live sumptuously on their large estates in the provinces. The common foldier will always be offended at such neglect, as he does not understand how much is required to clothe an army, amounting to half a million of men, and to provide horses for the cavalry. The paying of the arrears to the army, which had been due to some regiments even for two years, has been effected with great pains: though all

the army is now paid up, but the navy is still in arrears.

The foldier alfo complains of the wretched ftate of the military hospitals, eftablifhed in the greater cities of France : more than one invalid, nay even the dead and the living often lie together in one bed. The fick foldier is reported to be kept very indifferently, though two-thirds are deducted from his pay, as long as he ftays at the hofpital. Of the other feparate military hofpitals for venereal patients, amounting to about ten or twelve, ftill greater complaint is made, though their pay ceafes as long as they remain there.

The purchafe of the horfes wanted for the cavalry has, fince the peace, been left to the care of the commanders of the regiments, who fadly neglect this part of their duty. The fum allotted by government for that purpofe, which has not always been paid in full, is by far too fmall even to purchafe tolerable ones. Many regiments, who dare not accept of the Nor-

man, Limosin, and Auvergne horses, on account of their being too small, must bring them from Holfatia at a great expence ; and it may be said with truth, that the half of the French cavalry is not mounted at all, and the other half very ill.\* The cavalry is, therefore, compelled to serve dismounted, and is not a little offended at it.

The consular guard, which is provided with every thing, and of the best materials, excites the jealousy and the discontent of the troops of the line still more. It consists of 8000 men, and is continually increasing : they are well paid, very comfortably cloathed, and well mounted. The privates have 25 sols a day, and the officers have a proportionate

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\* The horses of the French cavalry are poorly kept, and have no strength. A great deal of hay and straw is given them, but very little oats. The daily allowance amounts to ten pounds of hay, ten of straw, and hardly five of oats. During winter, when they are little exercised, this allowance is lessened, particularly straw.



addition. They are equipped and mounted by government. The consular guard, in the eleventh year of the republic (1803,) consisted of two battalions of grenadiers, and two battalions of chaffeurs on foot (4000,) of six squadrons of grenadiers, and six squadrons of chaffeurs, mounted (2600.) All these men are picked from the troops of the line, and those only chosen who bear a good character as to conduct and bravery. The consular horse guards are quartered in barracks close by the Thuilleries, Malmaison, &c. His foot guards have their quarters in the buildings of the military school, and in other parts of the town.

A company of horse artillery, provided with eight guns, is attached to them. They are also quartered at the military school, and have every thing ready to march at a moment's notice. At the grand military parade this company must be present, and it passes in review before the First Consul, always in full

trot; probably to strike the Parisian populace with greater awe.

The Consul also keeps a corps of Mamelukes, amounting to 400 men, for his private service. It is composed of Greeks, Copts, Turks, and Frenchmen, who have lived some time at the Levant. They are dressed, armed, equipped and mounted in the Egyptian style, and are commanded by officers who have been in Egypt. The privates of this corps receive fifty sous daily.

The First Consul has besides a corps of cavalry always at hand, called *gendarmérie d'élite*," which amounts to 800 men selected from all the brigades of the *gensdarmes* of the interior. A troop of dismounted cavalry, containing 600 men, is attached to it. The privates of the horse guards receive a daily pay of five French livres; the privates in the dismounted troops three livres, but they must provide their horses, uniforms, and other necessities at their own expence. They are

quartered in barracks near the arsenal, and are employed to execute the orders of the general police, called *haute police*.

The other corps of *gensdarmes* are dispersed all over France, and have the same services to perform, which were formerly intrusted to the *Maréchaussée*. They are to assist the police, to pursue and seize criminal or suspected persons. They are all mounted, and have three livres per day. The troops of the line despise them as well as the consular guards; and quarrels generally ensue when they meet. If any revolutionary trouble should take place, they would certainly fight against each other.

The troops of the line amounted, at the beginning of the 12th year of the republic (1803,) to one hundred half brigades of regular infantry (*infanterie de bataille*,) each consisting of three battalions, and each of the latter containing 1000 men of thirty-two half brigades of light infantry, composed of the same number; of two regiments of carabi-

neers, and twenty of heavy horse, composed of four squadrons, containing 160 horses each. Of the latter heavy horse, eight regiments should wear cuirasses, but only two do so. Of twenty regiments of dragoons, and twenty-three regiments of hussars, and chasseur à cheval; each composed of four squadrons, containing 200 men. The artillery consists of eight regiments of infantry, each amounting to 1000 rank and file; of eight regiments of horse artillery, each amounting to 600 rank and file; of four battalions of *sappeurs*; as many miners; and two of pioneers; amounting in the whole to between five and six thousand men. The total of the French army was, at that period, more than half a million rank and file, besides the corps of invalids, and the several corps of veterans, composed of old soldiers unable to do duty, and now garrisoned in fortresses, forts, and towns; receiving the same pay as the troops of the line.

The army was, by no means, complete at the close of the last war ; and strong and severe measures became necessary to recruit it. These often occasioned resistance and bloodshed. The levies of conscripts, on a large scale, became necessary, as many young men, who had been forced into the army, demanded their discharge at their return, which had been promised them at the conclusion of peace. There is an order or law, by which it is enacted, that the eighth part of each corps shall annually be discharged in rotation---viz. the eldest in service, first. These were to be replaced by conscripts of the ninth and tenth years. They were young men of all classes, who had attained their twentieth year in these two years of the republic (1801, 1802.) Those soldiers whose turn it came to be discharged, might have remained in the regiment, and made a compromise with any other who wished to leave it ; yet this has been of late restrained, nor has the first regulation been observed.

Indeed, no fixed plan for the recruiting of the army is yet established in France, and provisional means only are adopted. A list is made out of all the young men, and another of the vacancies in the regiments. The latter have districts assigned them, where they are to receive their first complement.

They sent there for this purpose commissioned and non-commissioned officers. The conscripts must assemble at the chief town of the district. The officers of the cavalry have the refusal; and the remainder is left for the infantry. As all the conscripts have not been wanted to fill up the vacancies in the army, it has been the custom of the young men to draw lots twice: once for the regular, and the second time for the army of reserve. This latter does not exist in reality: but the conscripts on whom the lot falls to enter this imaginary army, are, from that moment, at the disposal of government, and may be assembled in time of need. They are drilled



occasionally. It has not been settled how long a soldier ought to have served, to be intitled to his discharge.

In the levies of the conscripts many abuses take place. A number of young men generally take to flight, or conceal themselves: as the recruiting officers must have their complement, these vacancies are instantly filled up by others; yet the regiments, after they have their full number, still pursue the deserters with the greatest rigor, and lay hold of them wherever they find them; and these poor men are generally taken to the regiment, when they are compelled to serve, instead of those soldiers who can pay something for their discharge. This trade is mostly carried on by the commander of the regiment alone.

The national, which have degenerated into mere town guards, daily dwindle in number, and Bonaparte is not displeased at it. He has left that decree unexecuted, by which the consuls in the ninth year of the re-

public, ordered the raising of two regiments of national guards of cavalry, and two of infantry, to do garrison duty at Paris. He has left this service to the veterans, and some half brigades, and to a regiment of dragoons, who might be better depended upon. The consular guards do duty only at the palaces of the First Consul, and in their barracks. He has, by a late decree, entirely abolished the national guards at Paris; and ordered the establishment of a municipal guard, amounting to 2150 infantry, and to 180 cavalry. It is to consist only of soldiers who have served in the regulars; and is to be looked upon as a sort of retirement for the troops of the line, as they are reported to be better paid than the army. No officer, or private, is to be accepted, unless he have made, at least, five campaigns; and their age is to be between thirty and forty-five. The First Consul appoints all the commissioned and non-commissioned officers of this corps. It is under the command of the generals of the first division, and of the commandant

at Paris. Every thing which concerns their duty and dress, is minutely prescribed.

The stations assigned to the real national guards near the turnpikes and gates at Paris, &c. are now filled up by substitutes, or *remplaçants*, who do the duty instead of the citizens, and consist of a miserable assemblage of vagabonds and beggars, without uniform or discipline. The wretchedness of these substitutes was one day proved, when a mechanic shot his wife and himself in a wooden stall, or shop, which he had shut after him. Of five of these fellows, who had been called first, no one had the courage to open the door ; and as neither of them had any powder or ball with them, they would not enter without, as the report of a gun had been heard inside.

This shabby, unsoldier-like, motley group, is a satire on the stately national guards, at the beginning of the revolution ; who, in appearance and steadiness, even surpassed the present consular guards ; who with the greatest bravery and discipline, fought against the best French

troops of the line, near Nancy, Lyons, and other places ; and who knew how to restore and maintain order, till they were sent, during the dreadful epochs of the last war, to the frontiers, and mostly to La Vendée, where they were sacrificed in the most wanton manner. The national guards of old, who formed a true and well-disciplined militia of the country, are now all disarmed by a new game law, which prohibits the possession of a single gun, even to proprietors of estates, if they have no special license from the prefect of the department.

What would Mirabeau say of this degradation and annihilation of the national guards, whom he described in the following words? "*Et que sont ces troupes, sinon les troupes de la liberté ? Pourquoi les avons nous instituées, sielles ne sont pas éternellement destinées à conserver ce qu'elles ont conquis.*"\*

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\* What are those troops but the soldiers of liberty ?

The same fate which befel the former national guards, this fundamental basis of a free government, has been shared by the juries, who certainly never were what they are in England. They are trampled upon from all quarters. The calling together of a jury is grown an unpopular measure : it is, in fact, not calling upon citizens and householders, as in England and America. The justice of the peace, who is the only officer chosen by the people, makes out the lists. These are given to the prefects and vice-prefects, intirely dependent on government, who may alter them at pleasure. The judges in the public courts, also take great care to prevent the juries from asking questions, or inquiring into the nature of the crime a prisoner is accused of. The French citizen has, besides, nothing of that zeal for impartial justice, which is the offspring of a true public spirit, and rational love

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Why were they instituted, if they are not continually destined to preserve what they have conquered ?



of liberty. They are indifferent about it, and the slavish courtiers and journalists, avail themselves of this supineness, to decry juries as utterly useless, troublesome to the citizens, and detrimental to the administration of justice.—Juries, are in fact, approaching their intire abolition.

They have already been suspended for the eleventh and twelfth year, in the departments of *côtes du Nord, Du Morbihan, De Vaucluse, Des bouches du Rhone, du Var, Des Alpes maritimes, Du Lamone, Du So, De la Doire, De la Sesia, De la Zura, De Marengo et du Tanaro*. All these departments are now subjected to the jurisdiction of the hated special tribunal. Thus the few really beneficent institutions which the revolution brought forth, are gradually destroyed, and this light-headed careless people, are insensible of the great change.

Even in such departments, where juries still exist, their powers are greatly limited.



That branch of the police, known under the name of *police correctionale*, and which consists of a judge and several justices of peace, or assessors, has taken from the juries a number of trifling cases, as exclusively appertaining to their jurisdiction. All cases of forgery, murder, manslaughter, setting houses on fire, &c. are assigned over to the courts of the special tribunals, whose arbitrary proceedings have already been noticed.

Thus, by annihilating the militia, by undermining and abolishing the juries, by destroying all liberty of the press, Bonaparte has broken down the bulwarks of a free constitution; and, instead of a well-regulated monarchical government, founded on law, he has jumbled together a set of regulations, the result of his arbitrary will, which may be altered every day at pleasure, which pave the way to the most scandalous bribery throughout all public offices; and thus deprives every body of the legal means of resisting injustice.

Violent measures alone will stem the torrent of these glaring oppressions, which far exceed every thing, that the most depraved monarchical government ever did : yet Bonaparte, thus overwhelming a nation already the unhappy victim of the horrors of revolution and anarchy, is preparing new commotions ; and he certainly has great reason to fear for his safety, and rules with a rod of iron.

In spite of all his domestic measures, he will still have a very precarious existence, if he continue, as he has hitherto done, to irritate the people by his boundless partiality for his relations and favorites, which he so imprudently and inconsiderately manifests. Few will perhaps blame the man in power, when he endeavours to benefit his family, within the limits of prudence and moderation ; but to grant a numerous family, who are absolute strangers to the country, whatever the most extravagant vanity, and the most greedy appetite may crave to give ; not from his own

limited income, but from the public purse, thus forfeiting all claim to personal sacrifice and generosity ; to bestow all the most lucrative places in administration on swarms of brothers, brothers-in-law, uncles, cousins, &c. &c. without any regard to talents or character, to load them with several offices at the same time ; to dub them presidents in all public assemblies ; to trust them with the management of every thing, by which a great and immense profit may exclusively be reaped :— All this far exceeds every papal, princely, and ministerial stretch of power, hitherto known in the world. Every thing will in time be forced to yield to this partiality of the consul, and the old Roman imperial despotism will sink under the arrogance and tyranny of the new ruler.

The several members of the family shew as little restraint and modesty in the public enjoyment of all these advantages, as he exhibits in bestowing them.

Lucien Bonaparte, who at first was minister

of the interior, and afterwards sent as ambassador to Spain, has acquired a fortune of thirty millions of livres. He exerts his influence over his brother who is so mightily obliged to him, to obtain the most profitable commissions and contracts, and thus to increase his riches. He lives at his splendid country seat (Plessis), and at his princely hotel at Paris, in a style never equalled by the most prodigal and extravagant prince, except the late regent in France, and his associates, who were known at that luxurious period by the nickname of *ronés*. There is some similarity of character between Lucien and this famous regent, who seized the government after the decease of Louis XIV. Lucien aims at magnificence : he is fond of shew, and indulges in studied sumptuousness. He gives way to the most voluptuous excesses. Like the regent, he is hospitable, generous, a lover and protector of the arts : like him, gains many friends by this single quality. He, of all his

family, would indeed be the very man for the French, at least for the Parisians.

Joseph Bonaparte, deep and reserved, like a true Italian, keeps to the society of his family, but lives in great splendor at his country seat, at Montfontaine, and at his hotel in Paris.

The liberality of his brother, at the expence of the public ; his hatred against all men who had grown rich during the revolution, have been made use of by Joseph at the conclusion of peace, to make a fortune by extorting presents, &c. from strangers. The mission to England, which required great prudence, ability, and application, without promissing much gain, was not coveted by any of the family ; they prudently ceded it to an honest German, a gay, thoughtless youth.

Louis Bonaparte, without any anxiety to make a fortune, lives nevertheless in the splendid hotel, in which his brother resided before his removal to the Thuilleries. Many things of value, which cannot be trusted to his



own hands, are given to his wife, the beloved step-daughter of Bonaparte, and carefully secured to her for the future. He may one day, perhaps, owe to her the dukedom of Parma.

The sisters of Bonaparte are all, without exception, possessed of great fortunes. The richest of them, is the widow of General Leclerc, to whom the very important expedition to St. Domingo was intrusted, though perhaps they could not have chosen in all France a man more unfit for such a command. Without making himself acquainted with the state of affairs at St. Domingo, and the character and influence of the principal negro leaders—without any capacity to avail himself of circumstances, and contradictory views of the black chiefs, his natural brutality caused them to join in their resistance against France; and he has, perhaps, lost for ever this most valuable colony. He consulted more his own interest than the public good. During his short stay in that island, he remitted immense sums to



France, which were laid out in the purchase of very considerable estates. His widow is looked upon as the richest of the whole family. Since her return she has bought a splendid hotel at Paris, which she has fitted up in a princely style : but she will probably settle in Italy, where she is to marry a Prince Borghese.

General Murat, husband to Bonaparte's second sister has accumulated a fortune in Italy, which he daily increases by the savings of his revenues, and fees as governor of Milan. Madame Murat is also possessed of a splendid hotel at Paris, where she occasionally resides. Madam Bacciochi, whose husband, a Corsican, is placed in the general staff of Bonaparte, has also a magnificent hotel of her own, the gift of the First Consul, for which the latter has paid the sum of half a million of livres, and which he ordered to be fitted up in the most superb manner. A similar present has been made to the mother, who eagerly seizes on every occa-

sion to make money, and is fond of presents, which are plentifully bestowed upon her by her son and sons-in-law. General Murat made her lately a present of a set of diamonds, estimated at 50,000 livres; and a service of china of equal value.

She has obtained for her brother Fere (now called Fesch), the dignity of cardinal; and this cardinal, uncle to Bonaparte, has made such good use of his time in Italy, that he is now become immensely rich. He has also received the very profitable appointment of ambassador to Rome.

Napoleon Bonaparte was reported after his first return from Italy, to be possessed of twenty millions of livres, and on his return from Egypt double that sum. Since the introduction of the new financial system, which allows him six millions annually, instead of the 500,000 livres, formerly assigned to him as consul: he now disposes of the public purse,

without any control; yet this was in some degree the case in former times.

Bonaparte shews the same predilection to all persons who have served under him in Italy, and neglects the most deserving men, who fought the glorious battles in Germany, under Moreau, who is now so shamefully neglected. His partiality towards those, who were with him in Egypt, is still greater. Not satisfied with making Duroc, who is quite a young man, the governor general of all his palaces (the pleasing manners of the one, and the personal attachment of the other, might excuse this choice) : he has also made him a minister of the cabinet; and through his hands every thing concerning the army must pass. His will and opinion are of such weight, that the war minister never ventures to propose any measure, without having previously consulted Duroc, fully persuaded that neither the assent of the First Consul, nor even an an-

swer could be obtained without this favorite's approbation.

The war minister Berthier, excepting his pleasing manners, has nothing that could entitle him to such an office but his having been with Bonaparte in Egypt: He is so little fit for it, that it was found necessary immediately to appoint M. Dejean as an assistant. This vice-minister conducts all the important affairs of the war department, under the title of "*directeur ministre de l'administration de la guerre*," whilst Berthier simply enjoys the honors of the charge, and draws an immense income from it.

Even Menou, was appointed general administrator of Piedmont, when every body believed, that Bonaparte would not only discountenance him, but even treat him with the greatest severity.

Denon, a pleasant writer, and a facetious reporter of all the wondrous deeds in Egypt,

was created by him director general of all the literary institutes and academies of arts in France. The most celebrated literati, the most renowned artists were set aside, all former presidents of the societies of arts, were abolished, and Denon appointed sole dictator over them ; whoever knows the extent and importance of the French museums, of the cabinets of antiquities and medals, of the mint itself, as forming a branch of it, must be equally astonished at the courage of this Denon, who accepted such a place in the face of Viscounts and other celebrated men, as he himself must be surprised at the blind partiality and protection of the donor. The grand museum at the Louvre, the museum of the French monuments (*musée des monuments François*), the museum of the French school at Versailles (*le musée de l'école Française à Versailles*), all the galleries of pictures in the palaces of government, the mint of medals, the chalcographic institutions of the Mosaic, and



of the cabinets of engravings, the purchase and the removing of all monuments of art and other things of less importance, are placed under the sole and immediate direction and superintendence of this new governor general.

Fran, a young surgeon, was nominated by Bonaparte to the most important dignity in his profession, and made "*Chirurgien en chef de l'hôtel des invalides*," an appointment which had been promised to the surgeon general of Moreau's army, and on which condition alone he followed the latter in his last campaign. Bonaparte said of this Fran—He may yet learn what is necessary, he is young.

Marcel, who set up a small printing office in Egypt, though he never had before the management of one, of any consequence, was promoted to the place of a director general of the printing offices of the republic (*directeur de l'imprimerie de la république*), which yields an income of 60,000 livres. Though all the most renowned printers and



proprieters of similar institutions had offered themselves, 300 in number; though all the votes of the counsellors of state, and of the two other consuls, were unanimously in favor of Pierre. Bonaparte said when they proposed the latter, "If Marcel had not offered himself, I should have given the place to Pierre," and wrote Marcel's name on the warrant, to the astonishment of every one present.

The partiality and confidence to men, who willingly trusted themselves to a hazardous enterprise, under the guidance of a successful soldier, who, blindly confiding in his lucky star, followed him to distant regions, is very natural to one, who has great reason to lay hold of all means to secure himself in his place; it is even prudent to attach such men still more: but if this cannot be effected, without greatly offending others, is it also prudent to render them bitter enemies, and thus to create throughout all classes and departments a general discontent, which will

sooner or later break out with the greatest violence, the longer it is forcibly suppressed?

If we reflect on these circumstances, we must either doubt Bonaparte's prudence and moderation, or conclude that all penetration, all talent, and superiority, will be of little avail to the man who has raised himself above all, and now stands alone, or is surrounded by hungry and malicious slaves. Still, every ruler, who has not that command over himself which he ought to have, is in a much more dangerous situation than merely standing by himself as he is encircled by the slaves of rapine and malice, ready to instil into his mind sentiments even worse than his own. The man of noble mind disdains to approach a being so infinitely inferior to himself. Hypocrisy, and cunning submission, are his principal attendants; but these with a word may be laid in silence at his feet. He will no longer see or hear, but with their ears and eyes, trusting to all their wickedness may sug-

gest; at the same time proudly thinking it the result of his own wisdom and activity: that it is his penetrating eye that has foreseen every thing. He believes himself superior to all those by whom he is surrounded, when he is only a mere machine in the hands of these miscreants.

It has been asserted in private societies, and in public journals, that this is the character of Bonaparte; and the measures which are always taken before he appears in public, render this very probable. If he is to visit an exhibition of any kind, every one who is not absolutely wanted there is previously sent away. The favorites of Bonaparte, and the minister to whose department the object in question may belong, and who have always seen it before, to give their opinion of it to the consul, who have perhaps instructed the ambitious or interested proprietor what he is to say, in order to attain his end: they always accompany Bonaparte, and prevent any

thing disagreeable reaching his ear. Besides, if we except military objects, he is no competent judge of any thing.

If this has been the case in the capital for the two last years, how much more must it be in the provinces—ignorant as he is of local circumstances, of the persons appointed there, and the inhabitants, none of whom are ever admitted into his presence.

The greatest precaution for his security is visible on these excursions. He never takes that road which has been previously announced. His guards are always sent in several directions to wait for him, but are never certain which way he is to come. He never stays at a place so long as was at first expected. He always sets out suddenly and unperceived, and generally arrives unobserved in the night, at St. Cloud, or Malmaison. A salute from the guns announce on the next morning his return : messengers and couriers are riding in all directions, to inform the

foreign Ambassadors and the constituted authorities, that the *great master* is ready to accept at a certain hour their congratulations on his arrival.

If Bonaparte think to strike the French with greater awe, by these manifold preparations, and outward shew of greatness and magnificence ; and thus, to make up what is denied him from the people, in attachment and love ; if he hope to make them forget the stranger who was artful enough prudently to avail himself of the weakness and folly of the nation, he greatly errs. He only throws a greater light on his usurpation, increases jealousy, exasperates the disaffected, and provokes the national pride to fury and revenge, which will be the more destructive as it is in the character of that nation to bear every thing in humble silence, and carefully to conceal their rage and thirst for revenge, till they can seize a favorable opportunity to shake off the galling yoke. Bold enterprises, splendid

and uncommon successes, triumphs which give a lustre to that vain and ambitious nation—these, while they exalt the proud ruler, are the only means by which the usurped authority can ever be preserved.

If we closely examine Bonaparte's conduct towards the English ambassador, Lord Whitworth, whom he found at Paris, on his return from the sea coast, we shall have occasion to remark that the chief object of his absence was nothing else than to fortify the northern and western coasts of France; and that all the new regulations were directed to the pre-concerted project of an invasion. It is more than probable, that he thought this would soon open to him a new career of glory; and thus keep the people in humour and properly employed. He was certainly not earnest in his desire of a lasting peace. He received and treated the English ambassador, after having delayed his first audience for three weeks, with the most striking coolness. At the public audiences



and in the circles of Mad. Bonaparte, he often made to him the rudest observations. Perhaps, the substance of his addresses might not have given so much offence as the haughty and commanding tone in which he spoke ; it was however highly improper. His favorite term, "*Je le veux*," (I will it) which he generally uses with the other consuls, and with his ministers, were one day addressed quite aloud to the ambassador of a power who had formerly spoken in this manner itself.

As Bonaparte is supposed not to be absolutely ignorant of the English character, or forgetful of himself, it must be inferred from this conduct that his mind was already bent on great enterprises against that country, even during peace, and that his pride alone made him forget the necessary caution in concealing his intentions. He certainly did not wish so soon to come to a rupture with England ; this has been clearly seen by his endeavors, at least for a time, towards an amicable understand-

ing : but the patience of the English was now worn out, and they declared themselves sooner than he expected. He thought England, perhaps, far more distracted by factions, and the danger in Ireland far greater than it now really appears. He may have believed the proud islanders sufficiently humbled by the disadvantageous and dishonorable terms of the treaty, which he had compelled them to accede to, and favored as he had been by so many unexpected circumstances, he imagined that he might shew to their ambassador and to them, his contempt and hatred. He thought that he had reduced them to the necessity of submitting in silence, whilst he shewed the greatest activity to restore the French navy, to fortify the coasts, and to prepare a flotilla which might supply the want of large ships. He supposed them unable to resist, whilst he, by opening an intercourse with the Netherlands, should secure to himself and to France, a great revenue, and the annihilation of trade to England.

But these *humbled* islanders, to whom nothing perhaps is so sacred, which they would not willingly sacrifice for their country, their national security, for their prosperity and for their honor, resumed their courage, and said, "A war with this haughty Corsican is unavoidable ; we must indemnify ourselves for the disadvantageous peace which we have concluded : and for fear of the worst, we had better decide on it now, than ten years hence, when perhaps the enemy may have accomplished all his hostile preparations, so openly carried on : better now, than when the nation is betrayed into false security, and dangerous slumber, by deceitful promises, and treacherous allurements. We are still possessed of that rock, on which he in future may rest, with his face towards Asia, and Africa, musing on his grand projects against us, and all Europe. Let the proud boaster try, whether treachery and violence, will now meet with their wonted success."

The antigallican orators in the British parliament, and the public papers in England, continued to wound the pride and the vanity of the hostile conqueror. He shewed himself by far too much hurt at their philippics. He demanded the prosecution and punishment of such boldness. He thought, perhaps, the English government should prohibit the members of parliament from uttering such language against him. The French official papers were filled with the coarsest and most malicious attacks on the English nation and its government, though the British ambassador was present. The other French papers and journals re-echoed these invectives, and others made bitter and malicious additions of their own. Never did there exist between two great nations, then at peace, such an unbecoming rancour.

An English newspaper, established by government, under the title of, "The Argus," published by a Jew, who had been driven away

from England, was filled with the greatest scurrillity, and the most infamous aspersions on the English people and government ; it was daily distributed among the English, who came in crowds to visit Paris. All the French papers correctly translated these scandalous articles, and spread them all over the country. No English newspaper was publicly allowed, but one called the Weekly Messenger ; which was evidently in the pay of the French government, and always in contradiction with the spirit of other English papers. The French translated from this latter such paragraphs only as contained the intelligence of dreadful murders, robberies, adulteries, bestial fights, boxing matches, and other traits and transactions not very honorable to the English character.

The Parisian papers, sometimes gave themselves an air of deep concern and regret in feeling it to be their duty to report to their French readers, what those insolent islanders had dared

to say publicly against their great and magnanimous consul ; but they curtailed every thing which might be too severely felt by the grand hero : they substituted other and milder expressions ; and if there were any thing inserted which could not be softened down so far as to render it palatable to their kind master, they left it out entirely.

If a public official paper degrade itself to such a mean pitiful Jesuitic artifice, it must lose that credit which it no longer deserves. It would even be preferable to continue in these mutual invectives, and, like the *Moniteur*, to speak of “ *Imagination déréglée, délire, crime, politique, infernale, Tunisiens, Algériens, passions, haineuses et jalouses, perfides instigations:*” Or, like the publiciste, of *hommes atroces, qui ont soldé tous les crimes, qui sont voués au mépris de l'Europe, fumés du vin de Porto qui les penetre d'un saint enthousiasme pour la liberté:* or, like the open hearted rough Englishman, of fraud, rob-



bery, and breach of faith ; for every one knows then at least, that they are in a passion, and judges of them accordingly.

The English ambassador, who found little to praise in Paris, saw nothing at St. Cloud or Malmaison, that could give him more favourable impressions. The attention of the family of Bonaparte was entirely taken up with the new titular promotion ; and it was only debated, whether Napoleon Bonaparte should be invested with the imperial or consular dignity. When the imperial crown was at last proposed in the senate for discussion, one pert orator rose ; but touching the strings that might rather jingle too much in the ears of the people, he spoke with such boldness and force, that vanity became frightened, and he withdrew, for that time, the proposal of *majesty*. Several ministerial papers had, however, the meanness to attack the daring orator ; but, in reality, they only betrayed, in a very clumsy manner, their great chagrin on

the discomfiture of a proposal, which it was thought would meet with less resistance than any former. The ministers of Bonaparte reaped, however, some nominal benefit from this manœuvre ; the title of Excellency, which had previously been added to their names in the court calender, no doubt to save the trouble of its being inserted in due time, was given and decreed them in form.

An object which filled the family of Bonaparte with great concern and anxiety, was the miserable state of affairs at St. Domingo, and the necessity they were in of recalling their stupid and rapacious brother-in-law, and of committing this important and profitable command to a stranger, one not belonging to the family. The death of General Leclerc in some respect solved the difficulty, and the affairs at St. Domingo began to wear a better aspect, as soon as the helm was taken from such unskilful hands ; but more favorable accounts now arriving, they were kept very secret, and the

former bad ones suffered to continue in circulation, in order to conceal from the public the striking proofs of the inaptitude of the brother : and the public were not to know that their most valuable island was on the point of being lost by family protection.

The people were to be amused, and their attention diverted, by exhibitions of fine ribbons, and models of stars, for a new order, which the family chose to substitute for the old noble one of the Holy Ghost. It should be as similar to the latter as possible. The blue ribbon of the same breadth, had only a small red line in the middle, and a small white edge. The few remains of the republican tricolor on this ribbon, very emblematically expressed the nature of the present mock commonwealth. The star was to represent a sun, and the Holy Ghost was to be changed into an eagle soaring within its beams. Yet its introduction was also laid aside, with the proposed imperial majesty, for a time; perhaps

until the legion of honor, and the senatorian order could be introduced.

This also was the offspring of that period of vanity. It will, perhaps, procure the means to silence all senators, who might be apt to speak, if not well paid for their taciturnity : and it will be, at the same time, a channel from which new honors, and considerable revenues, may be drawn for *brothers and sisters*. A very great part of the unsold and unclaimed national property, which was repeatedly promised to the army, as a reward of their bravery, has been allotted to the senators. Yet this new invention of family fondness must exasperate the army still more, as the late execution of the project for a legion of honor is still delayed ; and as even attempts have been made to extend it also to civil, as well as military persons, contrary to its original intent, which was, that it should only consist of military men, who had received swords of honor as a reward of their gallantry.

It was to be divided into troops or cohorts ; and to each of these latter should be assigned an old castle, abbey, or other public building, where every member, not possessed of a house of his own, might have apartments, and a pension allowed him. Yet several persons filling the most important places in administration, have already been appointed as officers and directors of the legion of honor, and now sit in the high councils or committees of the corps. Here again means have been found to favor the family of Bonaparte, and their minions. That there never should have been the least idea to offer Moreau, the first and most worthy hero of France, a place in the legion of honor, raises, perhaps, a greater indignation in Germany, where this general, even when an enemy, knew how to command esteem and respect, more than in frivolous France.

Whilst attempts were making to introduce these new orders, that bear a great similarity

with that of Cincinnatus projected in America, great care was also taken not to mention a work of Mirabeau on this order, in which he explains the dangerous tendency of such institutions towards despotism and oligarchy. Mirabeau particularly inveighs against the incautious introduction of nobility; a measure which he deprecates in the following words :—“ *Tout ce qui est signe, et qui peut tout à coup server de ralliement à un grand nombre d'hommes, qui peut former un esprit particulier dans l'esprit général qui peut séparer certain nombre de citoyens du corps des citoyens est bien plus redoutable par ses effets dans une république, que dans une monarchie, &c. Dans la monarchie tout tend à l'élévation; dans la république tout doit tendre à l'égalité. Dans la première il faut des rangs; dans la seconde il faut des vertus. Les signes extérieurs de distinctions sont naturalisés dans la monarchie, et par cela même leur influence est moins dangereuse. Mais tous ces signes, qui distinguent*



*sont étrangers au gouvernement et à l'esprit républicain : et si le corps solitaire, qui ose ainsi se distinguer est un corps, de guerriers alors tout est perdu. La liberté ne restera pas long tems, dans des climate, que de pareilles distinctions outragent."*\*

This work was written four years previous to the French revolution, for the benefit of the Americans, who had then introduced the

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\* "Whatever is a sign and may serve as a rallying post to a great number of men ;—whatever may form a particular, in a general spirit ;—whatever can separate a certain number of citizens from the whole body, is much more formidable by its effects in a republic than in a monarchy : in the latter, every thing tends to elevation ; in the former, every thing ought to produce equality : in the former, distinctions are wanted ; in the latter, virtues.—The outward signs of these distinctions are naturalised in a monarchy, and by that circumstance, their influence is less dangerous ; but all distinguishing characteristics are foreign to the republican spirit, as well as to its government ; and if that solitary body, which thus aspires to pre-eminence, be composed of warriors, all is lost :—liberty will not long remain in climes infected by such distinctions."

order of Cincinnatus, already consisting of 10,000 members. The effect of this work was the immediate and careful limitation of the order; and America has preserved her liberty. The French, on whom all good advice, all instructive examples are lost; who never look farther than to the present moment; who proudly boast that they also have had a revolution, no doubt wish for a better constitution than the Americans; and they now reckon as many of them as revolutionary years, while they are always committing the same faults without profiting by experience.

The miscarried imperial dignity had also caused a project for a new coin, with the head of Bonaparte; but they could not agree about the titles and inscriptions. A day was appointed in March, 1803, when the First Consul was to go to the mint to decide upon it. The minister of finances informed the master only two days before of his intended visit, and insisted that his head must be stamped

upon the coin in his presence, in order to surprise him agreeably. The director general of the medals, a great artist, maintained the impossibility even of producing an indifferent one in so short a space, and insisted on Bonaparte sitting to him, in order that it might be worthy of the First Consul and the nation, as to superior excellence, in the execution. When the minister still insisted, a young man in the mint, who had previously executed a head of Bonaparte, and had privately offered to realize the plan of the ministerial flatterer, finished the medal tolerably well, and the likeness was striking. Bonaparte was very much pleased with the young artist, desired that he might be presented to him; and, without asking whether he was a director of the medals or not, made a contract with him for the whole coinage of the new crowns that were to bear his impression.

It appeared on this occasion how little Bonaparte thought of opposition in the senate,

and how well he could depend on their acquiescence. He asked the young man, how much time it would require to finish the stamp for the new dollars. He answered, fourteen days. Bonaparte then replied: "Yes, in ten days, the law will have passed and have been proclaimed: that will do." And by these few words this young man was appointed, against which no one of the present ministers, nor the general director of the mint, nor any other director, dared to make the least objection; though they knew the master of the mint must feel very much hurt; and this inexperienced youth must be sensible both of the affront and of the loss, which the innocent man must suffer, if such a considerable commission were taken from him.

Nevertheless, experience too soon proved to the Consul, that such rash decisions may be a reward for an assiduous, submissive flatterer, but cannot give the talents required. The new crowns were ready at the appointed time, but when they were issued they proved

not only indifferent in workmanship, but also quite inadmissible. The artist had forgotten that they were to be current, and had therefore made the head and inscriptions too projecting, so that the new crowns would not lie one upon another, and also required too much room in the chests of bankers and merchants: they were therefore called in, and new ones coined. The new stamp is a little better than the former, but the head of Bonaparte had none of those marked traits which peculiarly characterise his countenance.

Many other such blunders and awkward attempts, which betrayed the novices of this mushroom court, very often happened in the Thuilleries, and must have surprised the lady of the English ambassador, who had accompanied the late Duke of Dorset to France, and had seen the court of the unfortunate queen.\* The proud Englishman must also be

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\*The author has been misinformed: her Grace the

offended, as other ambassadors were, at the several demands and importunities of this new court. There was, for instance, a formal court-mourning ordered, on the death of General le Clerc; an audience of condolence was announced to the English and other ambassadors, which they were compelled to observe, and pay visits to the whole family. He was forced at such consular audiences to wait, like other ambassadors, for whole hours, in the confined anti-chambers, till the Consul was pleased to make his appearance. Several circumstances, which could only be ascribed to the greatest inexperience, or inattention, if not to a petulant pride, rendered these delays highly disagreeable, if not dangerous. This was particularly the case on the third of April, the day appointed for the

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Dutchess of Dorset was not in France with the Duke when ambassador; she was married to him after his return from that embassy.



grand parade, which usually precedes the audiences of the foreign ambassádors. This parade degenerated into a sort of special review of all the troops garrisoned in Paris. Even the conscripts appeared dressed in their white frocks, and the soldiers with their knapsacks, and every thing necessary to take the field at a minute's notice. The principal gates leading to the Thuilleries were shut, and Bonaparte, who usually passes the ranks on horseback, went this time on foot. He opened several knapsacks, ordered shoes, which he found of bad workmanship, to be thrown away. He commanded a soldier to pull off his coat, which he tore in two, as a warning to the contractors. He questioned them, and severely reprimanded some of the field-officers present. He asked the conscripts respecting the quality of the soups which they received, nothing else having been provided for them.

By these proceedings he hoped, perhaps, to persuade the soldier who thinks himself dis-

regarded, and who is dissatisfied, that he is not unmindful of them ; and probably meant this as a hint to the English ambassador, that he was ready to march, if the answer from England did not prove satisfactory ; similar hints had been already thrown out in several audiences.

This grand parade now lasted five hours, instead of an hour and a half, its usual time. The ambassadors, who had received no notice, arrived at the wonted hour, accompanied by many foreigners, whom they wished to present to the Consul ; but they found the gates of the Thuilleries shut. After waiting at the outside, just before the iron rails, where the review took place, they were at last informed, that they might walk up to a side gate, which should be opened to them. They were compelled to submit, and went, in full dress, through a part of the garden to enter the palace ; but they also found the gate leading to it closed, and were again forced to wait, every

where surrounded by a rabble, who had been suffered to pass through an opposite door. This was, indeed, a disagreeable situation for the English ambassador in particular, as the common people looked upon this special review as a warlike preparation against England. He was still more exposed to the unpleasant curiosity of the common people, on account of his grand, stately appearance, his richly embroidered coat, and his star and ribbon, which continually attracted the eyes of the populace. After having walked a considerable time, and after much knocking at the door, it was opened, and the ambassadors found at last an asylum in the narrow antichamber, where they were still compelled to wait several hours, till it grew almost dark, before they were admitted.

If the European powers do not especially and strictly command their ambassadors to resist such haughtiness, which surpasses even that of the old Romans towards the envoys of

subjected nations, it will increase every year, and these foreign powers will become contemptible in the eyes of the people, in proportion as Bonaparte gains respect. Every noble-minded subject of such sovereigns, who are represented by their ambassadors at Paris, must be deeply hurt by the pride and arrogance of the consular court. It is probable that the First Consul does not encourage this insolence ; that he is ignorant of many offensive occurrences, or perhaps not sensible of them, being naturally of an unfeeling and severe disposition, which was far from being softened or refined by the education he received. His followers visibly delight in this humiliating treatment of others, and will certainly continue it, till the attention of the First Consul be roused by repeated and earnest remonstrances.

The English ambassador, who had reason to be disgusted at the Thuilleries, found as little in Paris and in all France, to reconcile him, or

to gain his esteem, for he saw a degraded people, bearing, in slavish abjection, the tyranny of a despotic ruler.

Some consular decrees, respecting the future public instruction and administration, appeared about that time. A stranger to the history of Europe, might have inferred, from the tenor of many new-made regulations, that the present master of the French had it in view, to raise a savage nation from a state of barbarity, to the first degree of civilization. For to the eye of an European observer, his laws, and ordinances, certainly had this tendency, viz. to impress the French with a strong military character.

But the short-sighted Frenchmen, were not struck by them : perhaps they never gave them a thought. They were amused with pompous panegyrics, on the grand and pretended humane views of government, to promote knowledge, and to procure to the people the blessings of liberty. They had been deceived and led astray, in former times, by the declamations



of their constitution makers, on equality ; now they were blinded, and over-awed by loud encomiums on the greatness of their ruler, and the high fame of the conqueror.

French pride aimed at singularity from the beginning of the revolution. They would have no system, of ancient or modern times, as a model. No ! the great and enlightened nation would go on its own way, and would give itself a constitution, which might serve as a pattern to future ages : not such an one as the English boasted so much of ; it was too imperfect in their eyes, it had too much of the barbarous usages of feudal times. The Americans had only adapted their's to an inconsiderable people, just beginning to form itself, and living dispersed over a wide plain ; for them, a federal system might be useful. Perfection in every thing was the hue and cry in France ; yet, this people, so eager to bring every thing to perfection, forgot and overlooked the only means by which it might



be attained, namely, the improvement of public instruction. During the first ten years of the revolution, they never cast a look on this great object, they never thought of reforming the public schools, the great and sole basis of general improvement.

The champions, and authors of the French revolution, were certainly ready to grant support and assistance to great, splendid, and striking enterprises, in order to add to the glory of France: but the less shining, though peaceful and necessary instructions to secure the true happiness of citizens, were neglected. All former establishments of celebrity were, therefore, enlarged, and rendered still more splendid; but for the extension of general knowledge, nothing was done. The botanic garden, already greatly renowned, was highly improved. Botanic museums were erected; lectures on chemistry, on natural history, and on every branch of science, distantly connected with botany, were established. The celebrated

four academies were changed into a grand national institution, including all arts and sciences, and by its constitution, the respectability, and the laudable efforts of its members, surpassed every thing of the kind in Europe. The former great royal colleges, for students, were changed into a general academy, called *Ecole Polytechnique*, where all arts and sciences were publicly taught ; yet, for the common schools in the provinces, and in the country, very little was done; and where any improvement had been made, it was generally owing to the private endeavours of the masters in central academies. Little as this was, it is now absolutely destroyed, by the new regulations for the Lyceums, published by the consuls.

These regulations for the Lyceums, substituted for central schools, can serve as a model for all military and despotic states.

The first article evidently shews, that the former contemptible French schools have been

taken as a pattern for the new ones : It is worded in the following manner : *On enseignera essentiellement dans les lycées le latin, et les mathématiques* : and the last article proves, that the bigotry of former schools was to be preserved ; for it says : *Il y aura un aumônier dans chaque lycée.* (Each lyceum shall have a chaplain.)

The masters of latin and mathematics, at these lyceums, are also to teach geography, mythology, ancient history, and arithmetic. No mention at all is made of ancient or modern languages, moral philosophy, poetry, &c. but military exercises are chiefly insisted on.

The nineteenth article contains the following order : “ *Un officier, instructeur sera chargé d'apprendre, l'exercice aux élèves qui auront plus de douze ; il enseignera à ceux, qui auront atteint cet âge, le maniement des armes et l'cole du peloton ; il sera obligé de se trouver, à toutes les heures pour commander*

*les marches des élèves dans leur différent mouvement de la journée."*\*

The whole internal constitution of these lycées is truly military, and the schools, for the sons of French citizens, will be, in future, nothing else but martial establishments. The boys are divided into companies : have their serjeants, serjeant-majors, and corporals, assigned them, and if they are led out, they must march in a body, and always have a censor, a quartermaster, an officer, and a drilling serjeant at their head.

The twenty-third article of the new regulation deserves a place here. It says : *Tout ce qui est relatif aux repas, aux récréations, aux promenades, au sommeil, se fera par compag-*

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\* A military instructor shall have the charge of teaching the manual exercise to those pupils who shall be more than twelve years of age ; all such shall be taught the military and platoon exercises : the master shall be obliged to assist, at stated times, in directing them to perform the various evolutions.

*nie.* All the punishments of the boys are just the same as in the French army, namely, *la prison et les arrêts ; la table de pénitence* only has been added. Yet, in the schools, or Lyceums, already established at Paris, the boys are dreadfully flogged and beaten ; and the incredible filth of the school-rooms renders it almost impossible, to a friend of cleanliness, to remain there for any length of time. The insides of these schools, resemble the barracks of the worst description, with this exception, that the latter are generally kept much cleaner.

The most curious of all the articles in this new consular regulation, are the eleventh and the twenty-seventh. They are thus worded.

*XI. Il sera nommé deux commissions, l'une pour le latin, l'autre pour les mathématiques. Elles dresseront une instruction, qui déterminera d'une manière précise les parties, qu'on doit enseigner dans chaque classe, et les cours qu'on doit suivre. Elles traceront avec soin l'ordre à établir entre les cours qui seront*



*suivis simulet tanément et la duréé de chaque classe ; elles s'occuperont de la réimpression des auteurs classiques et la disposeront de maniere, qu'il y ait autant de volumes, qu'il y a de classes, en réunissant dans un seul et meme volume tout ce que doit montrer le professeur pour une classe de latin, ainsi que tout ce qui appartient a une classe de mathématiques. On pourra diviser les volumes, selon les parties d'enseignement pour l'usage des élèves. Le professeur ne pourra, sous quelque pretexte qui ce soit, enseigner d'autress oucrages.\**

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\* Two committees shall be appointed, one for the Latin, and the other for mathematics ; they are to plan a mode of instruction, that shall determine in a precise manner the branches that are to be taught in each class, and the different studies to be pursued ; they are carefully to devise the order that shall be established, and the duration of each particular pursuit ; they shall superintend the re-printing of the classic authors, which they shall dispose in such a manner, as to make as many volumes as there are forms ; taking care to compress in one volume, what the professor is to teach to the Latin form, and, likewise, to those who learn mathematics. They may divide the volumes according to the several modes of instruc-



*XXVII. Il y aura dans chaque lycée une bibliothèque de 1500 tomes ; toutes les bibliothèques seront composées des mêmes ouvrages ; aucun autre ouvrage ne pourra y être placé sans l'autorisation du ministre de l'intérieur. Les ouvrages seront prêtés aux élèves pour qu'ils puissent lire dans leur recreation les jours de fêtes, et de vacances.\**

For the French seminaries, and their instructors, no printing offices will be necessary in future. The treasures of learning, which we possess from ancient times, amounting to many hundred volumes, will be compressed

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tion, for the use of the pupils ; and it shall not be lawful for the teacher, under any pretence whatever, to make use of any other author.

\* Each lyceum shall contain a library, consisting of 1500 volumes ; every library shall be composed of the same works, and no other shall be introduced without the authority of the minister of the interior ; the pupils shall have free access to those books, for their private reading, in the days of festivals and holidays.

into six for the boys and for the youth of France, conformably to the will and pleasure of the consular majesty ; for there are only six Latin forms, and every form shall have only one single volume for the whole year. The library, which is to contain 1500 books, and no more, will be filled with the historical and mathematical works of the Jesuits, which, by the bye, are very voluminous : and thus the youth of the nineteenth century will have every possible instruction, and more than sufficient means to become as enlightened and accomplished as the First Consul, who certainly did not receive a better education. As to the makers and reviewers of the six volumes for the use of these lyceums, as they enter but half way in his plans, we shall have a pretty fair scale, and a curious monument of future French culture in the present age.

The hatred of the First Consul to all republican forms extends itself equally to all insti-

tutions of arts and sciences, which owe their origin to the revolution. From the grand national institute, renowned and celebrated as it was throughout all Europe, down to the school for trumpeters at Versailles, we meet with nothing new. There was a separate class in the national institute, for natural philosophy, ethics, politics and legislation, on account of their being so closely connected. Richelieu, the old despotic minister of France, would not have suffered such a dangerous union in his four ancient academies ; nor will Bonaparte allow it. The national institute is, therefore, dissolved, and branched out again into the four old royal academies, where dangerous questions are not to be discussed in future, nor any thing be said that was allowed even under the government of Louis XIV. XV. and XVI.

The degenerated child of the revolution now stands uppermost, and higher perhaps than former monarchs. The light which the latter

feared, will be therefore equally hateful and dangerous to him. In several central schools, which really deserved the name of schools, some thinking men had already begun to give lectures on ethics, history, and statical knowledge—sciences which the French never heard of before. Though every thing was still imperfect, the path was at least opened; yet it was thought too dangerous. The conqueror only wanted a warlike nation; any knowledge unnecessary for a soldier, who is implicitly to obey, might be spared in public instruction. The Jesuits formerly taught Latin and mathematics; the same should be adhered to at present. “*Trois maitres de mathématiques et trois de la langue Latine, ça suffit.*” Thus wrote the First Consul, with his own hand, at the bottom of the plan for public instruction, presented by the learned Cuvier and Fourcroy, after striking it through from the beginning to the end. That these worthy men have no share in the drawing up of the new consular

regulations, is too evident, by their whole tenor and by the rules : nay, even by the wording of them.

How contemptuous and disgraceful an opinion must Bonaparte have of the French, by thus driving them back into the state of ignorance and barbarism of past centuries : and how well does the nation justify his mean opinion, by basely submitting in silence to this degradation. A nation who had to boast of a Descartes, a Malebranche, a Bayle, a Pascal, a Montesquieu, a Hopital, a Daynesseau, a Colbert, a Mably, a d'Alembert, a Voltaire, a Rousseau, a Diderot, a Helvetius, a Raynal, a Thomas, a Mirabeau, &c. &c. A nation who heard with enthusiasm, and loudly applauded the bold language of liberty in the works of Corneille, of Voltaire, and others. A nation, who twelve years ago found no liberty, no information, no scientific institution, too splendid, too great, or too extensive, now suffers a stranger, who owes to her all

his instruction and power, to rob her of her liberty, and of every liberal information.

To their shame be it spoken, they are still the very same people they have been described by their own and foreign writers. Gregoire de Tours, their famous historian, represented the Franks, under their first kings, at the commencement of the Christian æra, as a ferocious and savage nation, only softened or overawed by the terrors of Christianity, whose kings were a set of unjust and cruel ruffians. He paints them as a nation by no means offended at the atrocities and murders committed by their kings, because they were themselves robbers and unjust ; as a nation certainly possessed of an established law, but who suffered their kings to render that law useless, by arbitrary written orders to the judges, commanding the disuse of it ; who permitted their kings to abolish these laws, and to put any one to death without the form of a trial ; to authorise marriages which were prohibited ;



to permit nuns to marry ; to withdraw inheritances from lawful heirs ; and to execute, at pleasure, their tyrannous and arbitrary will, by a total suppression of all laws.

Let us now compare these ancient ferocious Franks with the modern French, as depicted by Mably ; “ *Les François*,” says he, (Observations sur l’Histoire de France, tom. 1. p. 123. œuvres complètes de l’Abbé Mably\*)

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\* Observations on the history of France, from the works of the Abbé Mably, vol. 1. page 123.

The French, says he, abandoned themselves to their passions, and were guided by them ; and confounding licentiousness with liberty, and the powers of the law with tyranny, without any rule or principle, they were familiarised in a state of anarchy, with all those disorders which they knew not how to remedy. The interest of the strongest seemed to prevail over that of the public.

Ever disunited, ferocious, savage, and violent, treating each other like enemies, regardless of their common origin—confounding the most unbounded licentiousness with liberty—of an insatiable avidity—they foresaw nothing—inconsideration ever was the fundamental vice of the nation—they carried imprudence to an enormous excess—this eternal in-

*“ continuerent de se laisser conduire au gré de leurs passions et des évènements ; et confondant*

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consideration of the French was joined to the most profound ignorance of their antiquity.

They were plunged into the most profound ignorance—into the most barbarous ignorance.

They were an ignorant and savage people.

They were more vain than ambitious.

Of a misconceived pride.

They made it a point of honour to be arbitrary.

From their love of independence arose pride and revolt.

The most inconsiderate nation in the universe, and the most easily deceived.

Atrocious Brigands.

Of a mercenary disposition.

They suffered themselves to be intimidated and corrupted ; and lost to all shame, they made use of the influence which their situation gave them, to encrease their private fortune : violating themselves those laws of which they were to be the guardians and protectors.

Have we not witnessed, in the course of our history, that the French, ever altering and corrupting customs, which they thought they were only following, had contracted the habit of having no fixed character ; they acknowledged no other right but the contradictory examples of the caprices of their ancestors.

There is no nation that abandons itself more rashly to hope than the French ; but in displaying the great-

*la licence avec la liberté, le pouvoir des loix avec la tyrannie, ne formèrent qu' une société sans reale et principe. Ils se familiariserent dans l'anarchie avec les desordres aux quels ils n'avaient pas l'art de remédier ; l'intérêt du plus fort semble toujours décider de l'interet public."*

This patriotic historian declares to have found his nation during a thousand years, "*toujours desunis, fervees, brutaux et emportés, se traitant en ennemis, sans égard pour leur origine commune.* (vol. 1, p. 152). *Confondant la licence la plus extrême avec la liberté* (vol. 1, p. 157), *d'une avidité insatiable* (vol. 1, p. 143). He says of them : "*Ils ne prévirent rien, l'inconsidération fut toujours le*

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est courage, no people is more apt to fall into the last state of despair. Examine the character of the French, and then judge how fit they are to resist any government. The vices they have contracted since the reign of Louis XIII. through their effeminacy, avarice, luxury, and a servile ambition, have so far degraded their soul, that though they have still reason enough to fear despotism, they no longer have courage to love liberty.

*vice fondamental de notre nation* (vol. 1, p. 171) *ils étaient d'une imprudence énorme* (vol. 2, p. 43). *L'inconsidération éternelle des François étoit jointe à l'ignorance la plus profonde de leur antiquité* vol. 1, p. 318) *ils étaient plongés dans la plus profonde ignorance* (vol. 2, p. 112—vol. 3, p. 34), *dans l'ignorance la plus barbare* (vol. 2, p. 162) *un peuple ignorant, brutal* (vol. 2, p. 261), *plus vain qu'ambitieux* (vol. 2, p. 166) *d'une vanité mal entendue* (vol. 2, p. 46.) *On s'y faisoit un point d'honneur de se conduire arbitrairement* (vol. 2, p. 13) *de l'indépendance, fierté, révolte* (vol. 2, p. 14), *la nation de l'univers la plus inconsiderée et la plus aisée à tromper* (vol. 3, p. 11), *d'un brigandage atroce* (vol. 2, p. 53), *d'un esprit mercenaire* (vol. 2, 275), *Après s'être laissés intimider, ils se laissèrent corrompre ; et profitant enfin sans pudeur du credit, que leur donnoit leur emploi pour accroître leur fortune domestique, ils violèrent eux mêmes les lois, dont ils devaient être les gardiens et les protecteurs* (vol. 2, p. 202).

*N'at on pas vu dans tout le cours de notre histoire, que les François alterant, changeant, dé naturant sans cesse les coutumes auxquelles ils croyoient obeir, avoient contracté l'habitude de n'avoir aucune tenue dans le caractère, et ne connoissoient d'autre droit public, que les exemples opposés des caprices et des passions de leurs pères (vol. 2, p. 115.) Il n'y a point de peuple qui se livre plus témérairement à l'espérance que les François ; mais en montrant le plus grand courage, aucun peuple aussi n'est plus propre à tomber dans le dernier découragement. Examinez le caractère de la nation Française et jugez de la resistance qu'il peut apporter au gouvernement. Les vices que la mollesse le luxe, l'avarice, et une ambition servile ont fait contracter aux François depuis le regne de Louis XIII. ont tellement affaissé leur âme, qu'ayant encore assez de raison pour craindre le despotisme ils n'ont plus assez de courage pour aimer la liberté."*



Who could ever think, that this was the picture of modern France? Who could have thought, that all the enormous subversions which accompanied the revolution; that all the zeal and wisdom of the first national assembly; all the undaunted cunning of the second; all the horrors and abominations of the convention; all the pedantry, and talkative insipidity of the directory; nay, still more, who could have imagined, that a victorious war of ten years against all Europe, could make no impression on the depraved national character? Who could have thought, that, after such revolutions; after so many wars and victories, not a Frenchman, but a stranger, who fought and conquered by their means, could only be found endued with the power to chain them down, as Charles Martel did a thousand years ago, or as Richelieu, in the last century.

Mably has pointed out the key to solve this enigma; it is their utter want of respect to



the established law. Of what use are a thousand and ten thousand institutions, devised and planned by the most enlightened and reflecting men, if they are to be for ever altered by the arrogance and self-conceit of vain legislators ; often acknowledged by all national assemblies, and afterwards rejected, repeatedly published, and again annulled. Of what use are they, if the tyranny of selfishness and sensuality over the hearts of men, prevent and annihilate their effect. Mirabeau said, with great truth, “ *Ce sont sur tout les bonnes moeurs, sans lesquelles les meilleures loix ne seraient qu’un frein impuissant. Il est un despotisme du vice, celui-là seroit-il le seul, que la ville de Paris n’auroit pas pu renverser ?*”

Mirabeau had certainly an opportunity to know, from his own experience, how difficult it is to root out this tyranny from the mind, even of those who excel all others by their mental faculties, talents and energies. Can such a conquest be expected from a depraved

and light headed people ? They may level bastiles to the ground, and subvert thrones. —There will always be some miscreants among them ; but they will find very few who will teach them how to conquer their own sensuality, their passions, and lustful desires. All those who pretend to be zealous for the general good, but in reality only think of their own interest, know too well how to avail themselves of these vices : Bonaparte understood this much better than Charles Martel, or Richelieu.

There is a most striking similarity between them. The character of Charles Martel is drawn by Mably in the following words : “ *C'étoit un homme qui avoit, toutes les qualités de l'esprit dans le degré le plus éminent ; son ambition brillante, audacieuse et sans bornes ne craignait aucun péril. Aussi dur et inflexible envers ses ennemis, que généreux et prodigue pour ses amis, il força tout le monde à rechercher sa protection. Charles Martel ne voulut mériter que l'amitié de ses soldats, et se fit*

*craindre de tout le reste. Il traita les François avec une extrême dureté ; il fit plus, il les méprisa. Ne trouvant partout que des loix oubliées ou violées, il mit à leur place sa volonté. Sûr d'être le maître, tant qu'il aurait une armée affectionnée à son service, il l'enrichit sans scrupule des dépouilles du clergé. Charles Martel toujours victorieux et sûr de la fidélité de son armée, regarda les capitaines qui le suivoient comme le corps entier de la nation."*\*

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\* He was a man possessed, in the highest degree, of all mental endowments. His brilliant, daring, and boundless ambition, dreaded no danger. Hard and inflexible towards his enemies, he was equally generous and prodigal to his friends. He forced all the world to court his protection. Charles Martel sought only to merit the love of his soldiers : he was an object of terror to all others. He ruled the French with a rod of iron : he did more—he despised them. Finding on all sides the laws slighted, or violated, he substituted his will in their stead. Sure of being master as long as he could depend on the attachment of his soldiers, he enriched them, without any scruple, from the spoils of the clergy. The ever victorious Charles Martel, confiding in the fidelity of his army, looked on the captains who followed him, as the whole body of the nation.

The same author also draws the character of Richelieu, in the following words : “ *Dans le moment que la foiblesse du gouvernement rendoit tout possible, il parut dans le conseil du roi un homme, qui s'en étoit ouvert l'entrée par la ruse, la fraude et l'artifice, mais fait pour dominer par d'autres voies, quand son crédit seroit affermi. Richelieu né avec la passion la plus immodérée pour gouverner, n'avoit aucune des vertus, ni même des lumières, qu'on doit désirer dans ceux, qui sont à la tête des affaires d'un grand royaume ; il avoit cette hauteur et cette inflexibilité, de caractère, qui subjuguent les ames communes, et qui étonnent et lassent ceux, qui n'ont qu' une prudence et un courage ordinaires. Il employoit les mêmes moyens, dont les rois s'étoient servis pour distraire la nation du soin de ses affaires domestiques, et la façonner à la docilité monarchique : Il avilissoit les esprits, en les occupant de ce que les arts, les sciences, les letters et le commerce ont de plus inutile et de plus attrayant. Son luxe contagieux fit connoître de nouveaux*

*besoins qui ruinoient les grands ; forcés de mendier des faveurs pour étaler un vain faste, ils se préparoient à la servitude. La contagion fut portée dans tous les ordres de l'état ; des hommes obscurs firent aux dépens du peuple des fortunes scandaleuses ; on les envia, et l'amour de l'argent ne laissa subsister aucune élévation dans les âmes. Capendant Richelieu en avilissant la nation au dedans, la faisoit respecter au dehors. Plus les entreprises du ministre étoient grandes et difficiles, plus il avoit des pretextes pour ne se soumettre à aucune règle et gouverner avec un sceptre de fer : le besoin de l'état et la nécessité lui servoient d'excuse auprès des François, qu'il opprimoit. On ne fut point innocent, quand on fut soupçonné de pouvoir désobeir à ce ministre impérieux. Répandant d'une main les bienfaits et de l'autre les disgraces, il parut plus supportable d'être son esclave que son ennemi. En s'emparant de la justice par l'établissement des appels, les rois s'étoient rendus législateurs ; en faisant un usage arbitraire de l'administra-*



*tion de cette justice, Richelieu jugea qu'il se rendroit despotique. Il intervertit l'ordre de tous les tribunaux, il ent des magistrats toujours prêts à servir ses passions. Ce que Machiavel conseille au tyran qu'il instruit, Richelieu l'exécuta. La cour, pleine d'espions et de delateurs par lesquels Richelieu voit tout, entend tout, est présent partout, semble tombée dans la Stupidité. On sent le danger de former des cabales ; tant la dégradation des esprits est grande, et le poids de la servitude accablant, ce n'est plus que par un assassinat qu'on songe à sortir de l'oppression."*\*

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\* At the moment when the weakness of government rendered every attempt possible, there appeared in the King's council a man who found his way there by craft, fraud, and artifice ; but capable of distinguishing himself by different qualities, as soon as his power should be confirmed : This was no other than Richelieu. He was born with a most immoderate love of money. He was possessed of none of the virtues, nor even the qualities desirable in those at the head of a mighty empire : he had that haughtiness and inflexibility of character which overcome common souls ; and which astonish and weary those who have but an ordinary



The similarity of character between Bonaparte and Richelieu is most striking ; but it

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share of prudence and courage. He used the same arts practised by the kings, to divert the nation from their attention to domestic affairs, and to fashion them to monarchical docility. He kept the minds of the French in a state of degradation, in fixing them on what is most useless, but most attractive, in the arts, sciences, letters, and commerce. His contagious luxury gave birth to new wants, which ruined the great ; who, forced to crave favors, in order to display empty pageantry, were preparing for themselves the shackles of slavery. This baneful pestilence pervaded all the orders of the state. Men born in obscurity scandalously enriched themselves at the expense of the people : they were envied, and the love of money smothered every generous impulse. But, whilst Richelieu suffered the nation to degrade itself at home, he caused it to be universally respected abroad. The more the enterprises of the minister were splendid and difficult, the greater was his pretext for shaking off all restraint, and governing the nation with a sceptre of iron. Necessity and the wants of the state were his excuse in the eyes of the French, whom he thus continually oppressed : to be suspected of disobedience was, in the opinion of this minister, to be guilty. Diffusing benefits with one hand, and disgraces with the other, it was more desirable to be his slave than his enemy. In fettering justice by the establishment of appeals, kings were

is not the only one. The French at these different periods are in their disposition and situation equally alike. All their writers of the last century, from Montesquieu to Mirabeau, nay, even to the latest, as Necker, Riouffe, Mounier, Chenier, represent their own nation so sadly neglected and depraved, both in a political and moral point of view, that neither a good constitution, nor its observance ; nor a lasting and consequent resistance to a bad one forced upon them ; nay, not even the sufficient publicity of sound and

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become legislators ; and Richelieu, in the arbitrary administration of that justice, aimed at becoming despotic. He subverted the order of all the tribunals, and the magistrates were ever found subservient to his will. What Machiavel advises to the tyrant whom he instructed, Richelieu executed. The court which was full of spies and informers, by whose diligence Richelieu saw and heard every thing, seemed falling into stupidity. They felt the danger of forming cabals. So degraded was the genius of the French, so oppressive was the weight of slavery, that assassination only left them the hope of freeing themselves from bondage.

sober judgment may be expected from them. Such being the want of penetration of character, of social and moral virtue in Frenchmen, it is only surprising, that, during the fifteen years of the revolutionary commotions, not one man has risen possessed of sufficient military and political talents, of sufficient arrogance, courage, energy, and perseverance, to make himself their sole master. The man who can accomplish this great end, must not even be a Frenchman. It is as if the old national vices had so far poisoned and enervated every individual, that the whole country will never be able to produce one single man endowed with the talents requisite to attain the supreme dignity ; and yet such an one suddenly sprang up from a small, inconsiderable nation, whose character is the very reverse of the French. This man, during his short stay among them, saw them undergo all the vicissitudes and changes to which a great nation may ever be exposed. He watched them during all these times of commotion,

and found them to be the same uninformed, faithless, light headed, cruel nation, without character, as both ancient and modern history depicts them. He profited by this experience, Cæsar and Machiavel, whom he constantly studied, taught him that this people might have courage enough to make a furious attack, but that they had neither energy nor patience to endure with fortitude a continued opposition, or unavoidable misfortunes. He was possessed of both; and had, moreover, that daring courage, by which every thing may be obtained from this weak and fickle people. He placed himself boldly at their head; he incessantly led them to attacks and victories; he threw out baits and allurements to their interested views and sensual appetites. Eagerly catching and swallowing them, they did not perceive how this man, confiding in the army, now gradually seized upon every civil power. If by chance they looked up to him; if they appeared to listen, then he

flattered their vanity with specious, hypocritical cant, made the fairest promises, which he never intended to perform, and gave them hopes where none remained. This satisfied the eager multitude: this pleased the vanity of those, who are ever on the wing to catch at more than they have either sense to keep or make use of. Whatever they may have formerly acquired, they must now surrender it, for the preservation of his power and security. He understands how to represent these fan-tises to them as resignations, which their national honor and safety fully demand. Thus he leads them on, in a continual giddy round of vain expectations; and like a poor, but clever dancing-master, when his children ask for bread, he bids them dance. He is watchful and cunning enough to satisfy their desire for plunder on every occasion, and his conduct towards England will shew this most clearly; but first, it may be necessary to say a few words on his treatment of Switzer-



land. The fate of this devoted country was decided during the disputes between England and France. He had ordered fifty-six deputies from the Swiss senate, towns, and cantons, to Paris, where they had already been several months, without being admitted to his presence, to deliberate with him. The four senators, Barthelemy, Rœderer, Fouché, and Demeunier, were commissioned by Bonaparte to treat with them, to hear their proposals, and, if possible, to bring them to a final decision. Yet the difference of opinions continued always the same: Many of the honest Swiss deputies stood firm against all the arts and persuasions of Rœderer and Fouché.

Bonaparte therefore ordered ten deputies to be chosen from a select committee, who might personally confer with him on the interest of Switzerland. He expressly commanded that five democratic and five aristocratic deputies should be chosen. The depu-



ties were not a little embarrassed by this command. Nobody could wish to be looked upon as either of the two ; their own sentiments and their instructions stood often in contradiction with such an appellation. Many deputies of former democratic states, according to their instruction and their own private sentiments, wished for several aristocratic measures for their own canton : with other deputies it was the reverse. Bonaparte, like a good soldier, insisted on a plain, unequivocal answer ; and he was not to be denied. Many of the most courageous and eloquent deputies, who were not easily influenced or frightened into submission, were excluded by the manœuvre of this committee.

A conference between Bonaparte and the select committee took place. The active senators wrote down the pretended resolutions, made a constitution for all the Swiss cantons, and he delivered it on the nineteenth of February to the ten deputies, commanding them

to comply with it. He was so modest as to call this bestowing of a blessed constitution on the Swiss, only an act of mediation. The several and distinct forms of government which Bonaparte gave to the different Swiss cantons; the act of federation, by which they were to be united in one body. The special usages, customs, and forms to be observed; the liquidation of all debts contracted by the Swiss during the revolution, and the application of the national property, were likewise settled by this act of mediation.

Bonaparte, who has done greater harm to the honest Swiss than any man; who has brought them to the brink of the precipice; who has rendered them, for centuries, unable to preserve and defend themselves by their own means; had the impudence to address them, in the preface of his act of mediation, in the following terms:—" *L'Helvétia, en proie aux dissensions étoit menacée de dissolution; elle ne pouvoit trouver en elle même les moyens de se reconstituer. L'ancienne*

*affection de la nation Françoise pour ce peuple recommandable, qu' elle a récemment défendu par ses armes, et fait reconnoître comme puissance, par ses traités ; l'intérêt de la France et de la république Italienne, dont la Suisse couvre les frontieres ; la demande du sénat, celle des cantons démocratiques, le voeu du peuple entier, nous ont fait un devoir d'interposer notre médiation entre les parties, qui le divisent, &c.\**

He named also, by this act, the canton which was to have the directorial power for the year 1803 ; and fixed upon Freburg,

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\* Helvetia, a prey to dissensions, was menaced with approaching dissolution. It did not possess in itself the means of renovation. The ancient affection of France for that respectable people whom she has lately defended with her arms, and caused to be acknowledged by her treaties, as an independent state ; the interest of the French and the Italian republics, whose frontiers are limited by Switzerland ; the request of the senate and the democratic cantons, and the voice of the whole nation have imposed on us the duty of mediating between the parties by which it is divided.

where he appointed the Count d'Affry as Landaman. This is the same man who formerly served in France, where he had the command of the royal Swiss guards. On the tenth of August, when these brave and loyal men defended their unfortunate master and the royal palace against the fury of the populace, and were mortally massacred, he did not command them. He went afterwards before the convention, and to save his own life, declared that he did not head the Swiss on that day, though the queen had very much pressed him to do so the day before, to protect the king and the royal family against the furious Parisian populace. The savage monsters in the convention were rejoiced at this deposition, as they found some ground on which they might build the accusation of the queen, whose death they had vowed. They pardoned the hoary traitor. He seems to make a very good use of his fortunate escape for the benefit of his pious countrymen. He

lately supplicated the Pope in a very devout letter, to extend the blessings of his protection to the Swiss. His Holiness never shuts his ears against the earnest prayers of true believers ; he has therefore bestowed his paternal blessings and protection on the humble Swiss ; and nuns, and monks, and brevets and bulls out of number have been issued to prevent the circulation of dangerous heretical books, and to promote chastity : such have been the precious tokens of papal benignity.

To save all further trouble to the Swiss, who certainly were unable to help themselves, the presidents of all the nineteen committees who were to introduce the new constitution into their respective cantons, and provisionally to govern, were appointed also by the equally benign Bonaparte. Nobody will be surprised that not one single individual, of those Swiss, who had distinguished themselves, in the latter years, as zealous and patriotic defenders of their ancient liberty, was included in the number.



The consular regulation concerning the debts which the Swiss had contracted, begins also with an order by which the restitution of all estates, formerly belonging to convents, is strictly commanded.

A solemn promise was made at the same time, that all French troops should evacuate Switzerland, as soon as the new constitution could be introduced and settled. A year has now elapsed since this has been done, and the French troops are still there. It is a question, whether their removal be desirable for most of the cantons. No good has resulted from the new constitution, which many were in hopes would in some measure restore tranquillity. None had reason to be so satisfied, as to think the country much benefited. The discontent and fermentation are greater than ever; and the poor, honest, though passionate Swiss, who probably do not penetrate the final views of Bonaparte, are every moment exposed to the sad alternative of either inconsiderately flying



to arms, or running the risk of falling into the snare laid for them, even sooner than Bonaparte himself may expect. Switzerland, thus shackled, degraded, and oppressed, becomes, for an attentive observer of Bonaparte's usurpation and rigid aggrandizement, an object of serious reflection ; as those unjustifiable measures may be the forerunners of similar attempts in future.

Having finished with the Swiss, he now tried his strength on the English ambassador. Private interviews, amicable jests, airs of familiarity, confidential insinuations—all his arts were employed : but after some private conferences with Lord Whitworth, regularly preceded by private consultations between the latter and the Russian, Prussian, and other ambassadors with Talleyrand ; after having in vain exhausted all his powers, and at last all his insolence, with the immovable Englishman, the First Consul must have been convinced that England wished for war ; as she really was

ashamed of the disadvantageous peace she had concluded. Her object was to put a stop to Bonaparte's hostile preparations, and thwart his too incautious plans of aggrandizement. Mediations could certainly be of no avail, and yet he very anxiously wished for the interference of the Russian and Prussian courts. He sent his favorite Duroc to Berlin, with proposals, which had nothing less in view, than the total destruction of England—his last and principal opponent in Europe. If Duroc succeeded in disposing the Prussian court in favor of Bonaparte's designs, as far as he should think it proper to acquaint the Prussian cabinet with them—if he could prevail upon the King of Prussia to take an active part in the war against England, he was then to proceed to Petersburg, in order to accomplish his mission : but General Duroc soon returned from Berlin. The Prussian court looked upon the present dispute as a matter which concerned England and France alone ; as the English

ambassador had often justly complained of the little observance of some articles in the treaty on the part of France, and her eagerness for conquest. This, also, was most probably mentioned to the favorite emissary, though he was dismissed with the most obliging assurances of friendship towards the First Consul, after having himself experienced the most polite treatment and personal respect.

Bonaparte now seeing himself involved in a war with England, sooner than he had first intended, would willingly have induced all Europe, if possible, to share in the contest : but the prudent and moderate answers of the two northern courts soon convinced him that he had not with foreign powers that influence he perhaps imagined. He must also perceive that other nations had by no means that contemptible opinion of England and its internal state, which he had too clearly manifested, by his contemptuous behaviour since the disadvantageous treaty of peace, which he

had so easily obtained. He must also find, that their opinion of England and his were widely different : they did not think that she was unable henceforth to meddle with the affairs of the continent, or too far humbled ever to cherish such a presumption. On the contrary, these courts must have become a little more cautious by his own conduct towards England ; and much more so by his insidious proposals, his unbounded arrogance, and immoderate ambition ; however fair and polite his words and promises were, by which he thought rulers might be flattered and ensnared. His overbearing deportment towards England, by which he very imprudently roused her national pride, proved highly offensive to those sovereigns who thought themselves connected and allied with the English court, by different ties from those of the First Consul, splendid as his successes may have been.

When Bonaparte now saw that the English were in earnest, he left nothing untried to re-

tain the English ambassador at Paris ; and after having failed in his attempts, he still continued to apply for the mediation of these courts, to avert if possible the renewal of hostilities.

The Russian Ambassador was at this time suspected of not having sufficiently exerted himself, before the departure of Lord Whitworth, in executing the instructions of his master in the offer of his mediation. Its failure drew upon him the rudeness and arrogance of Bonaparte ; but the Emperor justly resenting such insolence, immediately recalled his ambassador, who on taking leave, with noble firmness said to the Chief Consul, That his sole ambition was to obtain the approbation of his emperor, and that he gloried in saying that he had succeeded. He did not express a wish for his approbation, nor did he manifest the least fear of his displeasure. Many ambassadors at Paris would not have dared to display such magnanimity.



Whilst Bonaparte was craving the mediation of Russia, he obtained the promise from the Prussian court, that it would not interfere in the protection of the Hanoverian dominions; in return, he guaranteed the security of the Prussian dominions; this surely could be of little use to a power, that has more than 200,000 excellent troops, ready to march at a moment's notice. He availed himself of these modest and peaceful sentiments, to the benefit of his army, and the replenishing of his treasury.

He immediately sent about 20,000 men, the half of whom were scarcely clothed and mounted. The general, at their head, must have been very sure not to meet with any resistance, as most of his troops who first reached the Hanoverian dominions, were entirely unprovided with artillery and ammunition. To the astonishment of all Germany, to the no less great surprise of the French soldiers themselves, who, also, knew the bra-



very of the Hanoverian troops, who, with their own eyes, saw the excellent state of their discipline ; the whole Hanoverian army ; all the Hanoverian artillery and ordnance ; all their rich stores ; all the royal property was delivered up, without striking a single blow. The French troops were new clothed, from Hanoverian manufactures, and were mounted by their horses. A number of the best, out of the royal stud, and in the country, were sent to Bonaparte, for his family and consular guards ; and as if the poor Hanoverian inhabitants, who had nothing to do with the quarrels and disputes between England and France, the innocent spectators of all these troubles, as if they were not sufficiently oppressed by the French, were compelled to catch a number of stags alive, and to carry them in large waggons, with six horses, to Paris, for the park of Madame Bonaparte.

The Hanoverian ordnance was forwarded with such rapidity to France, that the guns,

too heavy to be transported, were literally sawed through, and dispatched in pieces, to be re-founded there.

Though the public proclamations, and the official Parisian newspapers asserted, that this country and its army had been only taken in trust, in order to withdraw from the enemy a reinforcement of troops, and an addition to his revenue ; though this country had been spontaneously given up by its states, to secure it against the treatment usual in such cases, it was, nevertheless, treated with the accustomed rapaciousness, and is now obliged to raise increased pay for the enemy's troops ; yet, the soldier only receives a third part of it, and the officers nothing at all. The surplus, as well as all ready money arising from other exactions, goes into the treasury of France, independently of which, officers and soldiers must be found in board, lodging, and every other necessary, by the citizens

and peasants. All movable articles, of any use to the French, were carried off.

The troops are continually exchanged. After having been clothed and mounted, they are sent home, and other troops replace them, who are to be clothed, and mounted also. This will certainly last as long as Hanover can continue to provide them with clothes, leather, horses, &c. As it is, however, unable any longer to raise the money required, by the French, the Hanoverian dominions are already offered in pledge, to contract loans, and the neighbouring imperial towns are insulted with proposals to that effect.

The French generals, and commissaries, have taken possession of the royal palaces, and the houses of the fugitive fathers of the country; they lead there a most luxurious and prodigal life, and all at the expence of the unfortunate inhabitants. They celebrate their republican and despotic anniversaries alter-

nately, and with the most petulant ostentation ; treating the poor Hanoverians with marked contempt. They sent for their wives, mistresses, children, &c. &c. in order to have them fattened, and enriched on this devoted soil.

This happy destiny, for one part of the French troops, has had the effect of tranquillising the whole army. The soldiers, in general, are so sparingly kept, in their garrisons, that they would inevitably starve, if their chiefs did not discover ways and means, by obtaining for them small parcels of land, to cultivate potatoes and turnips. The soldiery view these depredations on the domains of the king of England, in Germany, as the prelude to that long promised, grand, and famous achievement, viz. the invasion and plunder of Great Britain. This reconciles them to the hard fare which they extort from the Dutch and Low-countrymen, who are already overwhelmed by their burthen, and see their

own countrymen starve on the coast, whilst they are compelled to give up every thing to strangers. Another, equally numerous, division of the French army, which was intended for the happier climes of Asia, and Egypt, make shift, for the present, with what the Neapolitans are able to afford; and wait there the grand future events, which may, perhaps, end in the final expulsion of the Turks from Europe and Egypt.

The Hanoverians, though they may greatly lose in property, in health, and in long life, find, at least, an opportunity of becoming better informed of the real French character, and its despotic chief. A Frenchman is an inconsiderate, often times, a wellmeaning and passionate talker, and it will ease him greatly if, after three years silence, he can speak his mind. What the soldiers now loudly, and without exception, express on their situation, on the doubts and fears, with which they marched against the respectable, well provided, Hano-

verian troops ; on the robberies and impositions of their leaders, commissaries, and placemen ; on the despotism of their consul, who is guarded like the grand Sultan ; on the arrogance and haughtiness of his ministers, and council ; all this will give the inhabitants a much better idea of this country, of the state of the French army, and its government, than they, perhaps, had, when like other individuals, who were disgusted at the oppression of their government, they, by no means, looked with displeasure upon the approach of French troops.

There is not, perhaps, one Hanoverian to be found at present, who would not look upon the departure of the French, and the restoration of his government, as the greatest blessing ; though before he might not have been so very anxious for the persons who formed the regency. There is hardly any one amongst them who would not expose his life, rather than see his native land gradually perish by



this slow mode of execution. Probably they would have met with timely aid from the neighbouring countries, if they had followed their first impulse, and made a noble stand against the troops who were collecting in the neighbourhood, and undoubtedly for something better than the mere amusement of the regent. The anger of some neighbours on the awkward undignified conduct of the Hanoverian regency, for which an ungenerous revenge is certainly taken on the innocent people, would have cooled : their own interest would have induced them to consider what might be the consequences if a neighbouring state, which had to claim the protection of the German empire, meanly yielded, and became a sacrifice to the superior power of a cruel and rapacious enemy. These neighbours must now see already to their sorrow, that the conduct of the French government does not answer their ill-placed confidence. God forbid that Bonaparte should give them still

greater causes of dissatisfaction ; but of all the attempts that ever entered the mind of a despot none appear too great for this consul. He is of a restless disposition and ever inclined to grasp at more. His heroic and encroaching character will make him pursue what other men before him, only wished to obtain. He will hardly follow the steps of Charlemagne, who always kept up his constitution at home, and would never infringe the rights and government of other countries, though he was always most successful in his enterprises. He will rather imitate Charles V. or Louis XIV ; with the exception of his military qualities, he very much resembles the former. Charles the fifth was no hero. The picture which has been drawn of this monarch, by one of the greatest historians, exactly suits Bonaparte. “ This emperor, ever on the watch, was more active than could be expected from his weak constitution ; as he possessed more of the statesman than of the hero, he was always the more cau-

“ tious the more doubtful his object ; as he was  
“ himself an adept in dissimulation, he did not  
“ trust others ; his combinations were just as  
“ long as he kept himself cool ; he was simple  
“ in his manner of living, and not without  
“ affability in his outward deportment.” He  
made the welfare of the roman catholic church  
a pretence to pursue his private plans against the  
protestants—Charles betrayed his character.—  
Contempt of mankind is the true criterion of  
despots. They abound in words ; pride and  
arrogance, defiance and scorn are the means by  
which they endeavour to command esteem.  
Charles shewed too early his disdain for the  
states of Germany.—Though America was  
plundered during his reign, he often felt the want  
of money. His armies exacted their pay from  
foes, extorted it from friends. The suppression  
of genius, and compulsion in all its dreary forms  
were his continual aim. Craftiness was his  
chief quality. His countenance never betrayed

the sentiments of his heart, and soft persuasion ever flowed from his smooth tongue.

If this second Charles, this active, cautious, mistrusting, well-combining, simple, popular, despotic, haughty, proud, scornful, and deceitful tyrant, who is versed in dissimulation, who deals in fair words, who favours the roman catholics, who makes both friends and foes pay for his troops, though Europe and Africa have been plundered by him, who makes suppression of genius, and compulsion in all forms, his study, whose chief trait is duplicity, in whose countenance nothing speaks, but his tongue softly vibrates on the ear.

If this modern Charles, who possesses the lustre of a hero, which the other wanted ; if he should now come forth against Germany, with his plan of an universal monarchy—will there be found a second Maurice of Saxony to subvert it ?

The right moment of resistance had been suffered to escape in those ancient times : Yet

the consolatory truth, that superiority of power and cunning will wreck on the rock of flaming patriotism, and the manly energies of a people struggling for their liberty, remains. The Smalkaldian bond was signed, and its objects were carried with patriotic zeal.

If Bonaparte, like Louis XIV. should have it in view to possess a state of the German empire, why should it be thought impossible, as the king of England has had one for the last century?—If he project this, and purpose drawing all the smaller states into his interest, to take them under his protection, and thus to weaken the whole body, and to govern in Germany as he does in Italy—will there be another Philip of Mentz, to rise and join all the princes of Germany into one general defensive alliance?—Will he be able to unite the jarring interests of such jealous neighbours? When this noble and patriotic elector planned the grand confederacy, two ministers of important powers made quite contradictory remonstrances. Many of

the princes of the empire were already in the habit of looking only for their security to France. Even at that period, not one of the powers in Germany could singly resist Louis, who was master of the finest empire ; who called forth all his energies to render himself the legislator for kings and republics ; yet the general alliance was carried.

Germany has often been saved by the powerful union of its princes, against Spain, Austria, and France ; but there never was a time, when the empire wanted a general alliance of its princes more than at the present conjuncture, if France should not weaken itself by its spirit of revenge on England, and its projects of conquests in Asia and Africa. To prepare this alliance, it is the duty of all protestant northern states to insist upon the evacuation of the Hanoverian territory, whose seizure the states of the German empire should never have permitted. If the emperor Alexander succeed in his



mediation, then Germany, and particularly the protestant part, will owe him greater thanks, than even the king of Great Britain ; and the former may rejoice for the first time in having obtained the support of Russia.

A great weight would be given to a general alliance of all the northern German Sovereigns, by the accession of the noble-minded Alexander.—Bonoparte has done much to render such an alliance more powerful, by imprudently destroying all the ecclesiastical states, and aggrandizing the Protestant electors. German princes will certainly not be so lost to themselves, and to their country, as to believe that they are bound so to sacrifice their own and their subjects' welfare, as to become the vassals of France, or to neglect the interest of the whole Germanic Empire and their northern allies, to please the arbitrary robber, and by increasing their territory, cause them to be listless spectators of the ruin of their neighbours.

If they were, may the example of the great model for all German Princes, may the efforts of the great Frederic of Prussia serve them as a guide. His active zeal in creating the last union, which was too soon dissolved, is before their eyes. If, before his penetrating looks, it could have ever come to this, he, the great, disinterested, and resolute Prince, would now undoubtedly resign every quiet and personal enjoyment for the sake of public safety. He would call upon all German Princes, with patriotic enthusiasm, to stand forward in their own defence.

“ Malheureux ! vous creusez des gouffres  
sous vos pas ;

“ Vous leur payerez cher leur funeste assistance :

“ Ces superbes tyrans intrus dans vos états,

“ Vous comptent asservir sous leur obéissance.

“ Que leurs dangereux essaims,

“ Vous feront verser de larmes !

“ Vos mains aiguisent les armes

“ De ces perfides voisins.\*

The example of this great promoter of genuine civil liberty, and of the only possible equality, namely the equality of law ; this friend to moral light, is still looked upon and followed as a pattern by his nephew, with the best and purest zeal. Shall this great and generous resolution, to support the independence, and the rights of Germany, in which his great ancestor has given so glorious an example, shall it not be imitated by this noble successor? Yes ! he cannot suffer, that the light which beneficially shone on his countrymen, should be taken from them

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\* Unhappy victims ! you are running headlong to destruction. Those proud tyrants, once in your territories, will make you groan under their yoke ; you will rue their fatal assistance. What tears will their barbarous hordes cause you to shed. Your hands are sharpening the weapons of those perfidious neighbours.

by their despotic neighbour. He, the great friend of learning, and the careful reformer of public schools in his dominions, will not suffer that the declared enemy of knowledge and truth, who orders only one book throughout his vast empire, for all the schools, should now spread desolation and barbarity over the German soil, where learning and sciences, deserted from France, have now found an asylum.

The assertion of the inferiority of the French to the Germans, in knowledge, learning, and judgment, may perhaps, surprise those, who know the French only from the works of their most celebrated writers; but it will not astonish those, who have lived for some time in France. It cannot have escaped the latter, that the seemingly better informed people there exhibit only a cultivation and refinement in luxury, and are not possessed of that sound and sober judgment, nor that well informed mind, which is the touchstone of genuine knowledge. It

well applies to them, what our countryman Moser said, sixteen years ago, when the rage of French governors and governesses, for the education of children in Germany, had spread far and wide, and the sentimental romances of France were looked upon as the best sources of every accomplishment.

“This new method of education,” says Moser, “will teach them perhaps to cut out frills and fringes, but it is the most ridiculous folly to prefer mere vain parade to real use, Where luxury is founded upon affluence, it is proper, and can be of service to the state ; but where it is sought, even when the necessities of life are wanting, where the mind, being a stranger to the most essential rudiments, will fly upwards, and partake of the nourishment fit for superior wisdom only, it is nothing but splendid misery, and the consequences are dreadful. By thus prematurely climbing up into regions adapted only to the highest intellectual capacities ; the soul unlearns the good

and honest virtues of common sense, the boasted endowment of our good mothers ; when dressed in their velvet caps, the heart sickens at the common domestic duties ; it is deceived into hopes and desires, which even a romantic writer is unable to realise. After having tickled our palate in this manner by continual luxuries, we must at last have recourse to strong liquors and highly-seasoned viands, to excite a relish for common food ; so the soul must take her flight into the wild regions of ecstasies, to drive away the tedious hours, and solace the vacant heart."

The more cultivated part of the French have drawn their instructions from the witty and sarcastic writers of the last century alone ; and it being a kind of national disease to hunt after them, every one profited by the agreeable lessons of their agreeable teachers ; valets and chambermaids soon learnt to satirise and sneer as much at the most important and sacred subjects, as Voltaire and Rousseau themselves,



though they had not the least conception of the nature of the subject. How false, imperfect and impracticable were the fundamental principles of these leaders ! How unfit was Rousseau to be a judge of constitutions, as he tries them only by the touchstone of his imagination, or metaphysical theories, without recurring to history, or to circumstances, as a monitor ; yet his political and philosophical speculations were the foundations on which the wise men in France attempted to erect their new buildings of egg shells.

The greatest part of the nation, and all who have not lived in the principal towns, or their neighbourhood, are wholly uncultivated, and uninformed of their constitution, their rights, and nobler duties ; they are only fit for mechanical employments. This want of all moral information frustrated all the endeavours of the most enlightened men in France, who, at the beginning of the revolution, only wanted to found a reasonably limited monarchy. It has

been the cause of all the horrors of anarchy, and the wild delirium of demagogues. It has made the re-establishment of the most arbitrary despotism probable, which is now so well organized, that it has rendered the prevention almost impossible.

The first national assembly was undoubtedly composed of the flower of all classes and orders, but it wanted firmness, character, and perseverance, to fix the basis of the well-planned edifice ; and to secure it so firmly, that any improvement and ornament might be added without danger. They went on constructing ; and when doubts and fears afterwards arose, they gave it up to the second assembly to complete, after having left it in such a tottering state, that the first storm could blow it down. In their folly, or instigated by their jealousy of each other, they debarred themselves from assisting and directing the new journeymen, by enacting, that no member of the first, should accept the place of a minister, nor be chosen a member of the second

assembly. Therefore the way into the ministry and the legislative body stood open only to an ignorant uncultivated multitude.

That this multitude seized upon ministry and legislation appeared too clearly, even at its first sittings. The former could be furious, and sometimes uncivil, but it never sunk into senseless vulgarity. It was now, as if another nation had taken possession of the seat of government. Even the better description of its members, who formed the party of the Gironde, were but indifferent or partial substitutes for the chief persons in the former assembly, such as Mirabeau, Sieyes, La Rochefoucault, Cazales, Rabaut, Lameth, and others. Their exertions were too impotent and fearful, to be able to withstand the fury of the rough and stout children of ignorance; they were subdued, and the men of the most violent dispositions, and of the most uncultivated minds, recruited themselves from others of the same stamp, and a genuine representation of the

dross and rabble of the nation was to be found as law-givers to this populous country. The care of learning, and the arts, the sacred zeal for liberty of conscience, and liberty of the press ; the blessed respect of the rights of property, and of the laws vanished ; and in their stead arose contempt of letters, persecution, and annihilation of all liberty. Scorn of the established law, and a desolating rapacity began to prevail. The great and profound ignorance of the multitude was perceived in these times of desolation, by the nation itself, and still more by their neighbours. In their armies, by which ruin was spread to adjoining countries, and in the public offices of France, insane and boisterous as they might be, there was still some sort of regularity and responsibility to be observed. Accounts and lists were found necessary, though there was no dependence upon their accuracy. A greater number of men were required, who understood figures, and wrote a legible hand, than former-

ly, when the whole was trusted into the hands of a few despoilers, or *fermiers généraux*. But excepting those, who were brought up to mercantile business, there was such a want of men who were acquainted with the first rudiments of learning, that they were compelled to place the most nefarious rogues in the offices of the exchequer, of the arms, and in the financial departments, because they only were possessed of that little knowledge which the middle and lower classes of the people absolutely wanted. Many foreigners, chiefly Germans, from the banks of the Rhine, soon made their fortunes by their abilities ; and if the minds of the better instructed German youth had not been dazzled by the splendor of a military life, they might have found employment by thousands, in the offices and bureaux of the war department and treasury. Many have, however, availed themselves of the opportunity.

It is also worthy of remark, that the enlightened members of the first assembly were al-

ways the principal objects of persecution to the subsequent national assemblies, whilst the present government, which is in want of able and well-informed men, now carefully look out for all those, who have escaped assassination, and the guillotine, to intrust them with the most important places in administration ; Talleyrand, Sieyes, Rœderer, Regnault, St. Jean D'Angely, Mounier, Lameth, and several others, are striking instances ; yet this is an additional proof of the want of ability in France.

Very few Frenchmen are able to account to themselves why the revolution began ; and for what object they have undergone all the troubles and horrors of the last fifteen years.

This unacquaintance with their own mind, this absolute ignorance of their real wants, this turbulent eagerness for change, render them dissatisfied. Their government must tranquilize them either by deceitful promises and transactions, or keep them down by arbitrary measures of despotism. The government must de-



press a nation, which can only be led by art or compulsion. The people always finding themselves outwitted or overpowered, must naturally hate the government. If the ruler be a haughty despoiler, a conceited man, whose anger is roused by any contradiction and resistance; if the nation be passionate, inconsiderate, vain and dissolute, then the contempt of the one, and the hatred of the other, will rise to such a pitch of acrimony, that all feelings of gratitude for past services must cease, and all mutual good-will be annihilated for ever.

This is, indeed, the state of the public mind in France. Bonaparte despises the French nation in the same degree as it hates him. This abhorrence is so universal, that hardly a person is to be found, who will do justice to the First Consul, even in his military capacity; and express that high esteem of his talents as a warrior, which has been hitherto admired through all Europe, perhaps with too great an enthusiasm. Even the army does not feel that regard and at-

tachment to him of which Moreau is so highly possessed. He certainly gives great cause for it, and provokes a considerable part of the army by his bitterness, jealousy, and ingratitude towards him, who, conscious of his own moral worth, and its value as a general, disdains to take revenge on the injustice which Bonaparte commits against him. Instigated by fear and envy, Bonaparte even develops his illiberal mind to the brave Moreau; though the latter would never enter into any device calculated to ensnare himself, and be the means of his deportation; the consequence of that greater want of prudence which some generals have evinced. His injustice extends to all who have served their native country under this excellent commander. Many of the officers who were promoted by Moreau in the last glorious campaign, have not yet received their brevets from government. The ministers and public officers enter into these sentiments of the First Consul with the greatest zeal. It is notorious

that it is no recommendation with them for any person to apply for a benefice or promotion, to allege his having served under him ; on the contrary, it militates against him, and frequently exposes the applicant to rude and illiberal treatment :—Whereas the good fortune of having served under Bonaparte, either in Italy or in Egypt, is a sure passport to every distinction and emolument. Yet, by far the greatest officers and soldiers have served under Moreau, and consider the neglect of their general, under whom they have fought with so much glory, as a dishonour to themselves, which they ought to resent, and the more, as they share in the same neglect. If Moreau were an ambitious and aspiring man, like Massena for instance, he might soon become a very dangerous enemy to Bonaparte ; but he finds too great happiness in the circle of his family and friends, to disturb and embitter his repose by hateful passions, by intrigues, or daring enterprises. Bonaparte who has no con-

ception of domestic happiness, does not credit this, but looks upon him as a dangerous rival, who might become a second Monk ; he has him beset by spies wherever he goes, though he assumes a careless air, as if he took no notice of him. This behaviour manifests little command of his passions, and no consciousness of his own worth : he shews that he is unable to value military talents ; he lowers himself, and injures his own consequence, by thus degrading Moreau. Many of the generals of the Chief Consul's party, and favored by him particularly, are too proud of their own glory and military fame, to shew any contempt of this celebrated soldier. Not a word of disrespect is ever uttered by them ; they, on the contrary, often speak of him most highly. Of Bonaparte nothing is heard beyond the circle of his favorites ; they are utterly silent respecting him when they enter mixed society. His arrogance, his arbitrary disposal of favors, frequently wound even his satellites ; and the groans of

the oppressed will burst forth, after having been for a long time forcibly suppressed.

Every one is strictly cautious how he utters his sentiments. Bonaparte, who, when once irritated, sets no bounds to his vengeance, has silenced reproach and criticisms ; and his rigor is therefore less resented by the French in their present oppressed state.

That a people, who were formerly and designedly permitted to speak and to abuse, if they only paid, and were obedient—who were chatters and reasoners by nature—who made witticisms, vaudevilles, and epigrams, on every occasion ; that they should now bridle sprightliness and wit so far, as not to allow themselves, during three years, to write an epigram nor ballad on the consular government and Bonaparte, though several may be circulated in private, is certainly worthy of remark. It proves that he, who severely punished every pasquinade on the spot, has chosen the proper method to restrain this inclination. It proves



that the spirit of the nation, which would give vent in former times to their vivacity and humor, in spite of the bastille and the "lettres de cachets," is entirely broken down by fear. By selfishness, and love of pleasure, they have lost all courage, firmness, and resolution. This want of energy has displayed itself throughout the whole revolution : For instance, has there ever been a single man, among all those, who drew a thousand plans, who made a thousand attempts to save and to disengage the royal family, on whose welfare and life the whole existence of the nobility and of the whole army seemed to depend—Has there ever been one, who has had courage and resolution to hazard his life in the defence of the unhappy family ? From Lafayette and Bouillé, down to the lieutenant who commanded the dragoons at the inn near the frontiers, where the royal sufferers were detained ; nay, even down to Santerre, who forced himself upon them as a protector, they all shrunk at the decisive moment, instead



of displaying that manly firmness, and venturing their life, to strike the minds of the people with some heroic deed, and animating them with zeal for their monarch by their glorious example. By far the greatest part of the national assembly was against the death of their Sovereign. Some threatening manœuvres of the daring party in the palace, and the populace, which had surrounded it on the outside, shortly before the nominal appeal, effected a majority of five votes for the death of the monarch. A million of inhabitants, who pitied their king, who shed tears at his fate, who were armed for defence and attack, basely and cowardly suffered themselves to be confined within their houses by a handful of hired savages; they tamely suffered their beloved king to be executed, without any attempt to preserve him.

Such proofs of pusillanimity stamp them with ignominy; yet it is most surprizing, that the very same nation, thus far degraded and corrupted, still exhibits the old inborn military ar-

dor, and national love of glory of former times. Many thousands who quietly suffered themselves to be guillotined, for fear of losing an arm or a leg, would have marched undauntedly against an enemy, who had irritated them—they would, if their leader could have made it a point of honor, have climbed up batteries without hesitation—they would have borne the greatest hardships with incredible patience.

This trait in their character, shews what energy this nation possesses, what they might be brought to effect, if they had built upon the foundation, which Charles the Great laid for their happiness. He gave them a constitution most suited to their habits. If in public instruction they had made it their great object to endear it to the citizens; and to shew its value, the latter would have made any sacrifice for the public good, and cheerfully fulfilled their social duties. If they had followed the example, which this great monarch set to his people, in the simplicity of his manners, and in the

practice of social virtues, they would not have mistaken the way to domestic happiness, nor would they have lost all relish for it. Secure in their native land, peaceful and happy in the bosom of their families, they might have selected, for their rational amusement, a Petrarch, a Tasso, a Raphael, a Buonaretti, but would never have sent into Italy for a Medicis, a Mazarin, or a Bonaparte.

There are, however, some men of highly cultivated minds, and of profound erudition in France, who have saved their lives, and their learning, from the wrecks of the revolution. The present government has been compelled to avail itself of their ability. May they never forget, that they owe their present good fortune, not to Bonaparte, but to the diffusion of knowledge—may they never cease to be its advocates and supporters.

The indifference with which the people in general look upon every measure of the First Consul to keep them in ignorance, is astonish-

ing. They are extremely indifferent about state affairs, and a foreigner must make particular and earnest inquiries, if he would obtain any information. The opulent part of the nation seek, with insatiable eagerness, after sensual gratifications, and pleasures of all kinds. The luxury of the table is brought to the highest pitch, and every thing which concerns the important articles of eating and drinking treated as the most momentous affair. The greatest variety and plenty, the highest refinement prevail at the tables of the wealthy. The same attention is paid to wines. The richest families, the greatest princes, were formerly satisfied with those of the country ; foreign wines were seldom, and but sparingly produced. But now it is quite the reverse ; and whoever wishes to be in the fashion, must provide the greatest variety from Portugal, Spain, Hungary, and Germany. The greatest sobriety was formerly observed, perhaps more so than in any other country. Wine was usually mixed with water.

The present generation are not so abstemious ; they will indulge themselves, and sometimes drink to an unreasonable excess. The pleasures of the table now take up the greatest part of the day, and even of the night. The play-houses, and other places of rational amusement, suffer by such long repasts ; a fashion that begins to prevail. Very few preparations were necessary in former times for dinner parties : People met at an early hour, spent some time in chatting, laughing, and good humour, over a cheerful glass, and afterwards went to the play, or other similar places : But now, the greatest number of people, which a saloon can possibly hold, are assembled together, for no other purpose, than to be most completely fed and filled for the day ; and the variety of things set out to please and satisfy the coarser senses, are the sole subjects on which the conversation turns.

This immense luxury and prodigality of opulent individuals is the more disgusting, as the



greatest part of them are men without good breeding, or engaging manners, devoid of taste, and of that ease, by which these luxurious feasts can only be rendered any ways acceptable. The greatest misery, and the most wretched beggary, astonish and afflict the stranger : And he who is neither rich nor poor, runs in most eager pursuit after gain, and does not allow himself time for a decent or moderate enjoyment, in order the sooner to join the society of these sons of prodigality. It is not comfort they seek ; the greatest luxury and affluence is their chief aim. That happy class of men, who, in humble content, live on a moderate income, and pass their life in ease, without craving the superfluities of others, and their empty show, is seldom to be found here. They generally seem anxious and eager to spend the day in the highest luxury, as if the following would not leave them a single moment for enjoyment ; they are driven in a continual round of voluptuous delights : and if they be not soon ruined in a worldly point of view, they



certainly are so in a moral. Yet their finances are often exhausted first ; and the number of great houses which have failed the two last years, greatly exceed those who have sprung up in the mean time. The ambition, to be looked upon as “ *un homme comme il faut*,” makes them guilty of all sorts of extravagancies ; and as they can only acquire this title by enormous expenses, these have no bounds. Thoughtless spendthrifts, merchants whose incomes are uncertain, contractors who cannot successfully go on without a great capital, always ready to meet a demand ; these, by expending their ready money in luxuries, and in venturesome speculations, involve themselves, in hopes of future gain ; difficulties and bankruptcies ensue. This profusion has enhanced the price of all the necessaries of life : They set a bad example to their inferiors, who will no longer lead their former sober life, when they see their masters continually outrunning the bounds of decency and moderation.

This indescribable prodigality of the men is still exceeded by the exorbitant luxury of the women. The daily change in the fashions of their most costly dresses, and in the furniture of their rooms, is beyond conception. The most expensive Indian and English muslins, in the greatest variety, and the most precious stuffs of France, are their daily wear. The continual alterations in the setting of diamonds, which they use in great profusion, render these very unnecessary ornaments still more expensive. All sorts of precious stones, cameos, and intaglios, are become indispensable additions to a lady's attire. Their expenses in furniture have so much increased, that the state-bed alone of a lady of fashion, now costs as much as the whole furniture of an elegant apartment would, in former times.

The taste and character of these prodigals do not appear to great advantage, if we consider the object for which they spend their money. They never thought of availing themselves of

the favorable opportunity of purchasing master-pieces of art from Italy, and valuable pictures from the Low Countries. There is no demand for the best works of their own artists. Portraits of insignificant individuals, and busts, are the only things which are sought after. This certainly proves that the wealth is by no means in proper hands at present.

Bonaparte sets the example in this depraved taste. He only employs the artists for his own portrait. David, the painter, had often been ordered to copy that strange picture, a fine *carriccio*, which represents Bonaparte going full gallop over Mount St. Gothard, on a spotted horse; whilst his masterly picture of the Horatii, his Junius Brutus, and the Rape of the Sabines, remain unsold. The best picture of Gerrard, his Belisarius, is sold to a Dutchman; and this great artist paints scarcely any thing but portraits. It is the same with several others.

Bonaparte, and many of his family, together with other very opulent citizens of Paris, are infatuated with the rage of building; yet, nothing has been brought forth, which may be looked upon as a monument of architecture. They have laid out immense sums for the fitting up of the inside of their palaces, and a thousand superfluous additions and alterations, which their fancy and caprice suggested.

This false taste has extended itself even to the stage, glittering and motley colors constitute the character of almost all the scenes painted of late. True grandeur, founded on the simplicity and coherence of all parts to one great point, is seldom observed. The better taste is still preserved on the great stages, in the costume of ancient dresses, which are beyond the reach of fashionable vicissitude. Yet their love of glitter and shew manifests itself even here, by the profusion of gold lace on the clothes of the French heroes and heroines of the buskin. A vulgar taste has ob-

tained on the little theatres, and nature is represented in its disgusting nakedness. The characters of thief-catchers, goalers, and exiles, are copied and represented in a most disagreeable and loathsome manner, as to dress and gestures,

The dancers, both men and women, observe no costume; they have laid aside all kind of dress, and the whole of it is nothing but a slight imitation of the paradisiacal fig-leaf. As many of the female dancers are fine and stately figures, the eye would not be so much disgusted with this state of nature, if their art still bore in pantomimes the character of grandeur and boldness; but it is degenerated into mere jumping, and their feats are nothing but variations on the old method of tumbling and leaping. The females have certainly some grace, but not of that chaste, noble and dignified kind, which touches the heart, and not the senses: it is light, nimble, lascivious, and calculated only to rouse desires. If it were

not for some attitudes of Mesdames Clotilde and Saunier, one might say of the grand ballets of the Parisian opera, that Terpsichore is become the prettiest and most enchanting *petite maitresse*, that ever granted her favors, and offered her charms to the jovial and giddy terrestrial gods. The multitude run eagerly after the favorite actresses, and are highly pleased with their exertions. Government ever attentive to give employment to the sense, and to encourage the people in their mirth, allow them an annual income of half a million of livres.

The high tragedy, to which the First Consul seems very partial, is neither a whole, nor a part, neither cold nor warm. They have deserted the former tragic manner, which was peculiar to the French, and which did not suffer any mixture of foreign art with nature. French tragedy stands therefore below that of England and Germany, though they possess a great acquisition in Talma, and promising abilities are discernible in several young actresses.



They are not better off in their high comic art. The intermixture of the Italian taste has done the same harm in this respect, as the English has produced in tragedies. The national, and truly original French comedian of former times is almost entirely degenerated into an Italian buffoon, yet they are still unrivalled in what is called *polite comedy and naïveté*; many excellent performers of this kind are still to be met with, on the greater stages. The little theatres have made it their chief study, since the revolution, to excel in low comic and grotesque acting. Nature caricatured is often exhibited there in great perfection, and with that ease which is peculiar to the French only. These little theatres are chiefly visited by the merry and profligate part of the community, and therefore always crowded, in whatever part of the town they may be situated. The multitude of the higher and lower classes are never tired with them. Some of the most wealthy families in Paris have

private boxes at the greater theatres, for which they annually pay considerable sums; yet, by far the greatest part, is so much taken up by eating and drinking, that they have no time to go to the play; or if they do, it is mostly in pursuit of little love intrigues.

All Frenchmen, possessed of any property, are most extravagant in one particular thing, namely, in gambling. The inconsiderate, passionate, and interested character of the French, powerfully draws them into this vice. Their government turns it to some profit; it favors, in the highest degree, all sorts of games of chance. A great general society, or company of gamblers, pay the sum of six millions of livres to government, for the sole exclusive privilege of opening as many gambling houses at Paris as they think proper. They have opened in the first year of their existence, or union, ten grand tables in the most frequented hotels, and spare neither art nor temptation, to attract the lovers of gain, who night and day

assemble in crowds at these places, men and women promiscuously.

The French government have also thought fit to establish lotteries all over France, which, in former times only existed at Paris. The drawing of the lotteries, which are now established in all the chief towns, occur so frequently, that the adventurer may speculate in them every day of the year. The annual sum of thirty millions of livres falls into the coffers of government by this financial manœuvre.

The family of Bonaparte know also how to benefit themselves, and their partisans, by the granting of such licenses. The above society has been compelled to grant, besides their stipulated licence money, annual pensions to some of them, and their favorites. The name of Madame Bonaparte is reported to stand first on this pension list, with fifty Louis d'or for daily card money, affixed to it. The names of courtiers, performers at the play-

houses, and female dancers, swell these lists, with inferior sums. The last on this list is a singer, who has fifty Louis d'or annually assigned to him. The whole of the pensions is reported to amount to one million of livres.

The French government thus avail themselves of all the vices and extravagancies of the people, to increase their revenues; or, as they chuse to call it, to "improve the finances." Whether they have chosen the right method to place the finances on a solid foundation, it will easily be seen, from some particulars, in their administration of the revenues.

There is no system in the whole of it. Nothing but separate and temporary operations, to ask from the people the most money they can spare, to collect it with the greatest severity, and afterwards to conceal from them by tricks and art, the amount of the whole of what they are to pay.

None of those who are to pay taxes to the municipality of their district, can learn the sum already received by government, and whether the amount required from any particular district have not been already collected.

The persons authorised to assess the inhabitants, who are also collectors, have nothing to do with appeals against the assessment. Commissioners are appointed to hear them, but the complainant must first have obtained a receipt for the payment of the first three months of his rate ; and even then meets with no redress, if the Court do not chuse to take his case into consideration. Should his rate be lessened, his fellow-citizens must pay for the deficit, and every householder is liable to be charged a higher rate during the year, which must be paid without any hesitation, or the least resistance. Every one therefore must wish that his neighbour should readily subscribe his quota, whatever it may be ; as the assessor, who is also



collector, receives the thirtieth part of the amount, it is his interest to exceed the mark, and the government is never much inclined to return what it has received over and above the sums required from the people ; they therefore wink at these extortions.

The philosopher M. Mercier once attempted to prove, that as man's happiness consists in hope, lotteries must render a nation truly happy ; no doubt he will also be able to prove, that government, by asking but a little, and taking a great deal, will certainly render them most completely happy.

The returned emigrants have indeed great doubts about the present financial system in France, but it is now brought to the highest perfection. The citizens, counsellors of state, are not only acquainted before-hand, what the people are willing and able to pay, and that every thing, like the miraculous loaves and fishes in the gospel, will multiply in the gathering ; they also perfectly well understand how



to pay the creditors of the state free of any expense, and contract debts, without any need of white balls from their most humbly devoted legislators.

This is the most easy thing for the *Directeur général du grand livre et de la liquidation de la dette publique*. Any body who enjoys the protection of the court, and has a demand on the French government, is paid either by an order on foreign or inland debtors, by the assignment of national property, or by entering his name in the great book of pensioners, which no legislative body can ever peep into, as it is always carefully locked up. The court favorite, who is indebted to government, here finds the fairest opportunity to enrich himself, by this mode of payment ; he purchases for a trifle, where he can, all the demands on government, from such as despair of being paid ; he sets them off against the demands of the state, and becomes a rich man. This transaction is not carried on secretly ; no ! the brokers

go round the Exchange, and inquire who has any demands on government to sell. The old state creditors, whose debts were formerly annulled, are reimbursed in this way, if they are fortunate enough to obtain protection; but woe to him who has no interest at court. It will be impossible for him to satisfy the endless demands of securities, accounts, and bonds, to establish his claim in the scrutinising eye of the judges; and if, after several years' application, he should succeed, he has not yet safely steered his vessel into port. A question on the validity of some bond, testimony, or witness, may be started; payment is suspended for the present; and the poor creditor is threatened by the state inquisition, or by the special tribunals, with being indicted for forgery.

It may be asked—If this be the nefarious conduct of government, where will the man be found willing to contract for the victualling, or clothing of the army, or supplying them with stores? They are actuated by the same base

principles as promoters of lotteries, and highway robbers. A thirst of gain, and a confidence of being able to out-wit, even the shrewdest amongst the cunning, prevail over the many melancholy examples of those who have been ruined, or have forfeited their lives by such iniquitous enterprises.

It is a mournful proof of the wretched state of a nation, when the public offices are looked upon as the chief branch of national industry ; yet this is really the case. Considerable as the salaries, attached to any office or place, may be, the holder of it regards every perquisite, he is legally entitled to, as the smallest part of his income.—*Mais les Affaires*—for so they call all matters of protection, which bring good round sums to fill the pockets of every one, from the highest down to the lowest, who has any influence with the chief of the department, either by the means of his valet, or his *chere amie*—these extra fees make a small amends for their trifling salaries ; this is the universal cry.

A remarkable occurrence of this kind deserves notice. A demand on government for several millions, due to some gentlemen near the Rhine, for provisions and stores delivered to the army, had been made, and applied for through all the customary legal channels without success. The case was at last brought before Lucien Bonaparte. His opinion was asked, whether the payment might be obtained without further delay, as in that case the creditors were willing to submit to some deductions. Lucien, after a full investigation of the subject, pronounced the demand to be a just one, and said to the suppliant, "*Je m'en charge à cinquante pour cent, dans trois mois vous toucherez.*"\* The debt was discharged, and Lucien, who had settled this payment with the First Consul and his ministers, was a few millions the richer. The appointments of a senator, and a legislator are certainly not to be compared with such *pretty bargains*.

\* You shall be paid in three months, Fifty per cent. (meaning Discount).

Embezzlements and frauds must be continually committed by the contractors, to repay themselves for the immense sums, which they must lay out, previously to their obtaining the contracts from government, to make good the deductions, they must always submit to, in order to get their money: nevertheless, they gain by these contracts, the immense sum of 20, nay 30 millions of livres: this was the case with Collot the contractor for the army of Italy, and the navy, (who is supposed to be worth as much) when the present war broke out, this Collot almost forced government, to let him have the contract for the navy stores, by pretending an embarrassment of his affairs shortly before, and threatening a bankruptcy, if not supported and kept up by them. The government is very attentive to those who have amassed immense wealth in a short time during the war; perhaps they granted the contract, to drain him a little. It is also reported, that Joseph Bonaparte has drawn a *small sum* from this Collot, when the



former was concluding the peace at Lunéville. The day previously to its being signed, when Joseph was sure of its taking place, he dispatched a courier, acquainting him privately with the ratification of the peace, and ordering him at the same time, to purchase 1,800,000 livres in the stocks on his account. Immediately after the final conclusion he sent him another note with this information, and reminded him of the purchase—Collot had already executed the order, and Joseph returned to Paris.

The state bonds for these 1,800,000 livres were sent by Collot to the noble pacificator, accompanied with a very polite letter, inclosing his two former notes, and assuring him that he could by no means think of keeping the notes, of the grand pacificator of the greatest nation in the world, amongst his mercantile papers. He therefore begged master Joseph to send an order for the amount; to this there was no answer. Eight days after, Collot himself waits upon him.—He was invisible.—



He now sees plainly how it was meant. The pacificator would also have *his* share in the profit, which Collot could make by this timely notice. He was silent, and of the 1,800,000 livres nothing afterwards was said. Such little sacrifices must be made up by contracts with government, and Collot must occasionally be indulged with them.

Haller, who was the uncontrolled agent of the finances in Italy, is reported to be still richer than Collot. He is the man for the Chief Consul.

Hengerloo, Cerf Bähr, Gobert, and Co, (who began with selling cattle for the army) Vurras, Lârus, and Bezar, are all possessed of several millions; but they live in such an expensive style, and with such boundless prodigality, that they are ever eager after immoderate gain.

Hengerloo indeed made an arrangement with his creditors, but many believed that it was only a trick to escape the contracts for the army, which were afterwards forced upon Collot.

Among the generals who commanded in the last war, and who generally agreed with the contractors and *commissaires ordonnateurs*, and thus had an opportunity to enrich themselves, by cheating government, and ruining foreign countries, by levying contributions, Leclerc, Massena, and Murat, are reported to have acquired immense riches: Moreau has not taken such good care of himself.

Talleyrand is richer than any other of the ministers. Nothing can be obtained but through their influence. An instance of this occurred in the 10th year of the Republic. The great water-works of Marly, on which many millions had been expended, had been so far injured, that all repairs seemed useless. Bonaparte having always been desirous of inhabiting the former royal residence at Versailles, the necessity of this machine became the more pressing, as this place can procure no supply of water without it. Government offered to contract for it, and a society of wealthy per-

sons, with M. Montgolfier, the celebrated mechanist, at their head, offered to build a new one, which should convey more water than the former. They demanded no advances in money, but offered to submit the work to connoisseurs ; and, if they approved it, they would require nothing more than the materials of the old machine. This very simple proposal they conceived would ensure the job, consequently they had not thought it necessary to purchase protectors, but they were refused. The repairing the old machine was resolved on, and the contract given to some friends.

The public prints frequently pass high encomiums on the great care of the French government in restoring the manufactures to the flourishing state of former times, and to incite national industry, but these eulogiums are not merited. The abolition of all private, in favor of one single state-bank, which monopolizes the whole, clogs industry by confining the money to one spot. The further to promote

this object, new laws have been framed to prevent the importation of foreign, and chiefly English merchandise ; and it is enacted, that the French manufacturies established near the frontiers, shall be removed into the interior whenever suspected of introducing contraband goods as their own. The wise financiers forgot, that all those that are well established, are calculated upon local circumstances, without which they must come to ruin.

The new regulation with respect to the sale of wood, for building, &c. on national property, must also prove destructive to many manufacturers. Formerly it was the custom for the owners, when they had occasion for wood from the royal domains, to join with others, and contract for a certain quantity, which was to be cut down, as it was wanted, in five, six, or seven years, and paid for on delivery. Thus they were sure to be provided without the necessity of making any advances. The present government, however, only think of getting the mo-

ney, without considering how far it may embarrass or distress individuals. All wood from the national domains is now sold to the highest bidder, must be paid for instantly, and carried off without delay. By this regulation it is only in the power of the wealthy manufacturer to purchase. He speculates besides, in conjunction with other monied men, on what the less opulent may want : He makes large contracts in advance, and sells at his own price. Industrious men, and young beginners, are thus dependent on avaricious and unfeeling jobbers, who generally succeed in effecting their ruin.

The interest of money is also too high to admit of small loans. The great capitalist can, at any time, make 12 and 15 per cent. without much trouble ; and can also gain considerably by contracting with government, by the course of exchange, or by gambling in the funds. He can likewise employ it to great profit in the purchase of national property and estates : In fact,

there are many advantageous means open, without endangering his capital, in new manufactures, or other uncertain establishments. Both the cultivation of the country, and the countrymen have been benefited by the revolution. The freedom of inheritance of copyhold, without paying a fee to the lord of the manor, the abolition of all feudal services, the liberty of selling their property and land, and the partition of large farms and estates into smaller ones; all these alterations, which the peasants owe to the revolution, have been very beneficial. The farmer is grown richer; his increased capital has been employed in the improvement of his land, and in the purchase of cattle; the country is not only better cultivated, but more land is under tillage than before. With respect to all other branches of industry, very little can be said of their flourishing state. The only thing which may benefit commerce, is, the removal of that prejudice which formerly forbade noblemen to engage in commercial specula-



tions. Madame de Turenne has articed her son to a great mercantile house, and several of the nobility have followed her example. Some noblemen have laid out their money in manufactures, which yield but little profit ; for the French have by no means that exactness and regularity, nor that experience and solid knowledge of business, so absolutely necessary for the management of these concerns. They are all enterprising, but very deficient in just calculations. They generally enter into a partnership with other wealthy men. Their national vanity, and love of show, lead them to begin with fine large buildings ; whilst the prudent Englishman, uncertain of success, usually commences with a small wooden house. The spirit of gambling, which pervades the French, also induces them to speculate deeply, to encrease the chance of considerable profit. The luxury and extravagance of these proprietors while they dwindle their capital, infect their clerks and servants, and

prove baneful to their morals. The first who establish a manufacture, generally lessen their property by building and show : The second, who take it up, by want of caution and too great enterprise : The third, by want of regularity and exactness : The fourth, however, generally begin to gain a little. Yet they have still to combat the English as rivals, who are possessed of all the means which continual industry, the perseverance of a whole century, and a public spirit, which supports every thing great, can invent. They have also to struggle with the excise officers, whose depravity of character is commensurate with that of the nation : Very few of these men have accepted their places for the sake of the salary attached to them, but solely on account of the opportunity it affords them of acquiring a fortune, by trading in contraband goods, which have a great sale in France.

There is hardly a person in France, who does not wear some-produce of English manufac-

ture; from the wife of the Chief Consul down to the daughter of a common shoopkeeper, nothing but English muslins are worn. Madame Bonaparte countenances this fashion, and sometimes grants to her favorites the privilege of importing small quantities of prohibited goods for themselves. The wretched state of the French manufactures may be easily conceived; if it be remembered, that they almost all live near the frontiers, and import foreign articles, which they pass as their own by putting their mark upon them.

One of the additional hindrances of industry is the unequal administration of justice.—*Mandats de depot*, or warrants of arrest, are granted on the least pretence; the man, whose seizure the warrant authorises, is taken up, and *secured*, as they call it, to distinguish it from imprisonment. He is, nevertheless, confined in a worse and more wretched place, than the public prisons for criminals. Whilst he remains there, witnesses are called before the tribunals, and

the judges examine them privately ; they allow no counsel to the accused, they sometimes threaten to treat them as accomplices, if they will not confess, or say, what the judges wish they should—The great art of these worthy judges in the special tribunal is to find out contradictions in the depositions, and they are very expert in drawing out, what they call, these *faux rationals*.

The more ignorant and fearful the witnesses are, the better they succeed. After having examined them sufficiently, an order to commit them, a *mandat d'arrêt* is issued, and is generally considered by the prisoner as a verdict of guilty.

The law, which enacted, that prisoners should not be kept confined longer than 48 hours, without being heard, was thus eluded by the judges, who do not consider the securing of a man, in virtue of a *mandat de depot* as imprisonment or arrest, though he may have been in the depot for several months. Now this subterfuge is

no longer wanted to infringe the law. The First Consul has arrogated to himself the sole right of deciding as he pleases in all these cases, as it has been observed.

The prisoner after having received a mandate of arrestation, is examined by the judges and has a counsellor assigned him ; but the judge may command him to keep silence, whenever he chuses, on the pretext, that by his defence he enters too much into political questions, or *intérêt d'état*. If this counsellor attempt to go on, he is laid under an interdict for two or even six months, by the judge, during which time he is not allowed to appear as counsel in any court of justice.

There is also a kind of torture introduced for obstinate prisoners, who will not confess according to the desire of the judge. It is an invention worthy of a Nero. The present prefect of the police, Dubois, who executes the will and orders of Bonaparte with more readiness than Fouché did, has established a new kind of



goal, so low and small, that the prisoner can neither stand, sit, nor lie down. He is thrown into these holes, and asked every quarter of an hour, whether he will confess.

A passionate Frenchman, naturally furious and lightheaded, will certainly confess any thing to inculcate another man, on whom the government wishes to lay hold. It is no wonder then that this true Neronian invention finds advocates among the base hirelings of government ; but that a tribune, a lawyer, and a philosophical writer, should defend it as a necessary remedy to bring the guilty to a confession, as it lately appeared, is indeed astonishing.

Liberal as the special tribunals may be with these arrests they find it sometimes expedient, to be equally liberal with the discharge of prisoners, in the course of the process against them, if the prisoner should happen to obtain the protection of men in power.

A manufacturer of earthen ware, a M. Fourmy, living in the Rue de la Pepiniere, at Paris,



was imprisoned and discharged in this manner: He had bought the house which he inhabited; but one of the judges in the special tribunals at Paris, who had lent a sum of money to the vender on the security of the house, wished to purchase it also. The notary who had made the contract, had named several persons who might have a claim upon it, and whose consent was therefore required, or who must first be satisfied, but he had not mentioned them all. The incensed judge looked upon this as a "falsum," or cheat, and ordered the vender to be taken up. Some months after, when the witnesses had been properly examined, the judge flew in a passion, because the purchaser had not been imprisoned, and had him seized likewise. Fortunately for the two prisoners, M. Fourmy knew the minister Chaptal, and Fourcroy the counsellors of state, who esteemed him on account of his knowledge in chemistry. M. Fourmy applied to them, and both vender and pur-

chaser were set at liberty without farther trouble.

A young merchant, a native of Germany, whose name is omitted on account of his family, connected himself with one of the thousand swindling and gambling families, in which Paris so much abounds: they persuaded him to embark with them into a great enterprise, and he borrowed money from his friends and relatives so to do. As soon as these swindlers had obtained all he was worth, and all that he could raise from others, they tempted him to commit a little irregularity, and accused him as guilty of an intent to defraud them. These gentlemen, with the judge, instantly laid hold of all the property which the young man had still left in the house, which was jointly inhabited by him and the swindlers; he was sent into prison. After having been a whole year in a most dreadful place, and having suffered beyond description, from the utter want of cloaths, he was condemned to imprisonment

for life, upon the only ground, as the sentence especially mentioned, that he, being a beggar, was still suspected of a fraud on their family, who lived in affluence. After having passed another year, amidst the most horrid wretches, and in a prison of criminals, it luckily happened, that the infamous family who had ruined him, fell into the snares of more cunning rogues ; they were all transported to the islands, as robbers, thieves, and swindlers. An old compassionate man, among the judges of this unfortunate youth, who remembered how often and how solemnly he had always declared his innocence, now recollected him, and ordered his release without further proceedings. The young man, since his liberation, has used all possible means to have a new trial and reparation, but in vain, as he had nothing but words and innocence in his favor. It was not so easy to provide money again, as the swindlers had absolutely ruined his character, and he was told, that he must make

a deposit of a certain sum, before they could enter into a new trial.

These monstrous proceedings are even extended to foreigners, over whom the tribunals have no jurisdiction. The secretary of the Cisalpine minister, a Signor Accerbi, was arrested last year, and shut up in the depot of the police, on account of his having spoken too freely of the King of Sweden, in one of his publications.

Nothing is more surprising than the carelessness of the French about all these horrors; it is, as if they had lost all feeling of justice and equity. If this really be the case, it is no wonder, that they bend so willingly under the galling yoke of their present tyrant.

The history of the French people during their melancholy revolution, may be compared to that of an uninformed inconsiderate young man, who is defeated in spite of his courage, boldness and natural strength, and remains entangled in the snares of the insidious. The

wilder and the more furious his struggles to extricate himself, the more tame and exhausted will he lie down afterwards, and resign himself to his fate.

In this forlorn and wretched state he will feel some relief, if even one of the accomplices will look with compassion upon him—will hasten to the spot to protect him against the more furious attacks of his desperate companions, who would deprive him even of his existence.

If this new protector is cunning enough to avail himself of his moral weakness, and treat him with some indulgence, this poor entrapped young man will even feel gratitude, and will be most strongly secured. The fear of falling a victim to his implacable enemies, his experience of former times, which has taught him that all resistance would be fruitless against the cool calculation of these robbers, will enhance the tranquillity and ease which he comparatively enjoys. Unwilling to hazard any future efforts; no longer fostering the pleasing hope of



release, he will sink down in a perfect consciousness of his exhausted state, anxious to cherish the little comfort within his reach.

It cannot be denied, that the French people owe their political existence to Bonaparte alone. Without his resolute character and energy, every thing would have gone to ruin. He animated with new life those who had lost all hopes, and inspired the fugitive with courage. The French republic was so near its entire dissolution, under the last Directory, that Bonaparte would have returned from Egypt too late, if an equally resolute mind had characterized any of the European sovereigns.

The nation, prone to enthusiasm, when it saw itself saved, could not escape the danger of a boundless gratitude to the man, to whom they owed their preservation. Many trusted too much in his high and noble character, to fear in him a tyrant. The hope that he would also be a wise legislator, and the founder of genuine liberty, as he had been their Sa-



viour, animated them, and tranquillized their fears.

Has not Bonaparte the will to render the French free and happy? Is he ignorant of the best means to promote their felicity, and to establish a rational liberty? Does he look upon himself, as the only man worthy to rule this great empire?—Does he consider the French as incapable of any freedom at all? Is it his persuasion, that they must be governed by force and despotism, and not by reason? Does this induce him to deny them even the benefit of a liberal education? His future conduct will throw light upon these questions. We shall follow him with our eyes, and his actions shall be recorded with faithfulness and impartiality.

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## APPENDIX.

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*A Quotation from Lacratelle's Pamphlet on the Dictatorship of Bonaparte.—Vide page 31.*

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LACRATELLE in his latest publication, entitled, "Sieyes and Bonaparte," said, "All our institutions are crumbled into dust, but the powers of the soul rise again. Be always firm, never stray from that justice, which the present moment demands—never abuse the noble and beneficial indulgence our laws owe to all, and which we have a right to expect.—Be always firm in honorably respecting the public opinion, which has been awakened by you, in order that truth may perfect your wisdom, and teach you to defend your glory." He also says, "You have entered into a conspiracy, for what? to alter every thing which existed. Your conspiracy tended to what? to an entire revolution.—From a senate instituted to maintain the constitution, you have asked; what? the means of overturning this constitution. You have asked from the state bodies, who represented the people; what? that they should give in their resignation—into whose hands? into

“ yours ;—At a moment when a foreign war was still  
“ carried on with acrimony ; when a civil war had  
“ broken out, amidst all sorts of misery ; during a war  
“ of all passions, in presence of all factions ; before  
“ all Europe you have established—what ? a dicta-  
“ torship !” *He then addresses his fellow citizens.*  
“ The dictatorship is the consequence of commotions,  
“ of convulsions in the state body. It is brought forth  
“ by circumstances, it ceases with them. It is either  
“ given, or taken by force. It falls into the hands of  
“ a corporate body, or in those of a single man. It  
“ exists by the laws, or against the laws ; it maintains  
“ them, or it annihilates them. It saves nations ; it  
“ oppresses them. It prolongs its existence ; it ceases,  
“ when it should.—It has more or less power as it was  
“ contended it should, all according to the character  
“ and temper of those, in whose hands it is, or ac-  
“ cording to the character of the people by whom it  
“ is established, all according to the parties, the tem-  
“ per, the passions, the inclinations, the opinions  
“ which may prevail there. Let us well ponder the  
“ circumstances, before we establish a dictatorship,  
“ or before we reject it ; let us try the character of  
“ those to whom we trust or deny it.—Let us grant  
“ every thing, if it incline to the good—and deny all,  
“ if its tendency be bad. Let us take care, that it  
“ may be as little necessary as possible, let us watch  
“ when it dispenses favours, lay open its errors, and  
“ if it must be, let us show ourselves terrible against  
“ fatal encroachments ;—let us be without fear, and

“ without enthusiasm ;—let us enjoy the ease which  
“ it prepares, but always, look upon its actions, either  
“ with gratitude or mistrust ; here with admiration  
“ —there with reproach.” He says of Bonaparte,  
“ I was inclined to think well of Bonaparte. He must  
“ have the natural magnanimity of a young heart,  
“ though his head is wonderfully ripened already. If  
“ any thing can make him giddy, it must be the hope  
“ of becoming more than a protector, greater than a  
“ King ; to be the restorer of blessings we thought we  
“ had for ever lost ; to be the founder of a great and  
“ glorious republic. Yet the seduction of power may  
“ determine him, who had only erred because he  
“ thought himself too sure.” He says at last, “ At  
“ the end of the 18th century nothing happens which  
“ could have happened at the end of the 17th.”

Lacratelle lastly dwells designedly on the conjunction of two men, “ Sieyes and Bonaparte,” which appeared so important to all genuine patriots. He says,  
“ The dictatorship was not exclusively destined for  
“ the warrior, nor the philosopher, it was reserved for  
“ him, who united wisdom with strength. Would  
“ these men, the last hope of a frantic people, sinking under a load of crimes and sufferings,—would  
“ they not forfeit all public esteem, exhibit themselves  
“ as cool calculators of their own dangers, and betray  
“ an hateful ambition, who found their interest on  
“ the ruin of the state, if they had not accepted of the  
“ power to perform all possible good,—that power,  
“ of which they are to give an account, which would

“ have been granted to them as the gift of despair,  
“ when the evil had reached its highest pitch.—These  
“ remarks, perhaps, accelerate the resolution of Bo-  
“ naparte, to get rid of this troublesome associate.”

This bold publication had scarcely made its appearance, when Sieyes was also put aside.

*Quotation from Cabanis on a genuine Representation, &c.—Vide page 31.*

Cabanis in vain notices in his speech on the 25th Frimaire, in the legislative commission of the council of five hundred, the chief requisites of a genuine representative system, and the functions of the legislative body, and of the tribunate. He exclaims with anxious fear, “ The existence of this magistracy of  
“ the people, connected with the liberty of the press,  
“ which must always be unlimited under a strong government, is one of the principal guarantees of public liberty : For whatever may be attempted, there  
“ is no real and solid security, if it be not founded  
“ upon public opinion.” The same anxious presentiment of the future, draws the following words from the orator : “ Our situation may render it necessary,  
“ that certain members of the executive power place  
“ themselves at the head of the armies, or that numerous military corps in the neighbourhood of the  
“ grand community, where they reside, remain under orders. But all this must only be looked upon  
“ as a provisional measure, and we must not delay,  
“ recurring to the fundamental principles, as soon as  
“ tranquillity is restored at home and abroad.

“ In vain does Chenier exclaim in his speech at the  
“ sitting at the tribunate, on 23 Germinal, wherein he  
“ wisely demanded, that it should be held twice in a  
“ month, during the future vacancies of the legislative  
“ body, for 8 months, in order to deliberate on every  
“ subject which might appear to them expedient for  
“ the benefit of the administration, and to communi-  
“ cate it as the wish of the tribunate. In vain, ex-  
“ claims he, like Lacratelle and Cabanis, the rest-  
“ less enemies of reason, the self interested slander-  
“ ers of learning, hoped to break down the building  
“ of the French revolution. They flatter themselves  
“ in vain, to lead us back to fanaticism, to feudal  
“ prejudices : their mode of reasoning in favor of its  
“ possibility is so easily refuted, that it is now look-  
“ ed upon as common-place argument.

“ They will be unable to check the career of human  
“ understanding ; like the inquisitors, who could not  
“ stop the rotation of the earth by throwing Galeleo  
“ into a dungeon ; like the persecutors of Faust and  
“ Guttemburgh, who could not check the progress of  
“ the art of printing, which threatened destruction  
“ to all tyrants, and changed the face of the whole  
“ earth.”

*Observations, by the Author, on Lord Grenville's Note.—Vide page 31.*

The answer of Lord Grenville contained nothing but a denial of the most incontrovertible facts, evasions, and pretences to continue the war. It appears



at the same time, from the speech of this noble Lord, in the house, that he was not inclined to negotiate. The reasons alleged by him, and his partisans, to justify this want of good will, are remarkable. They say the French had been the aggressors ; strange enough, that no negotiation is to be entered into on that account ! Then every war must be a war of extermination. The worst of it was, that the English had themselves been the aggressors, but the French knew how to retort the charge upon the English. Again they say, “ They could not treat with the “ French, as France had been continually ruled by “ republican principles since the war. Yet had they “ not attempted to negotiate with Dumourier, even “ in the first year of the republic ! shortly after the “ sending away of the ambassadors ? Had they not “ sent an agent with proposals to the committee of “ public safety, (*comité du salut public*) in the second “ year of the republic ? Had they not offered in the “ fourth year, to treat with the directory ? Did they “ not repeat the attempts again with this same directory, both before and after the 13 Fructidor ?

“ Did they not declare, when the negotiations were “ broken off, that they were ready to renew them, if “ the revolutionary government of the republic shewed itself inclined to peace ? Why would they not “ now treat with Bonaparte ? The blunt answer to “ this question will, perhaps, explain the whole conduct of the English ministry, during the French “ révolution.

“ Bonaparte was looked upon as a man, who might  
“ have the high and noble ambition, as well as the  
“ power, to give that free constitution to France,  
“ which it had frequently attempted to establish, by  
“ several means, but always in vain. It was imagined  
“ that he could accomplish the grand work, which  
“ England, or rather the ministry, dreaded since the  
“ revolution ; conscious of their having attempted to  
“ degrade the people, and undermine the English  
“ constitution.

“ If the French, strangers to all true republican  
“ virtues, could succeed in any way to obtain this  
“ great end ; how much easier would it have been to  
“ the English citizens, for centuries past, who have  
“ been bred up to liberty, who possess the two grand  
“ requisites of free citizens, in a high degree, name-  
“ ly, a disposition to find out the beneficial law, by  
“ a fair and general discussion, and a sacred respect  
“ towards established customs.”

Finally, The ministers said, “ That the French  
“ government could not offer any guarantee, and that  
“ time only could decide, what degree of confidence  
“ it deserved. As if it were the custom to make the  
“ past, and not the present nor the future, the basis  
“ of negociations ; as if after any change of govern-  
“ ment in France, the new one would always make  
“ war, and conjure up a new coalition.

“ After many confused and contradictory recrimi-  
“ nations, the minister gives it as his opinion, that  
“ the restoration of the old dynasty, suspended by the

“ revolution, would be the best security of government ; it would ensure to France the undisputed possession of their former territory, or rather, it would prevent any impression on the English people disadvantageous to the ministry. The speech of Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons, repeats in plain terms, these evasive reprobations.”

Bonaparte was treated there, and in the upper house, like a faithless robber and assassin. The sword was therefore to decide, and peace must be conquered.

*Quotation from the speeches of Daunou, Jean de Brie, and Benjamin Constant, after Bonaparte's return from Marengo.—Vide page 39.*

The friends of liberty availed themselves of every opportunity, to remind their victorious chief of his duty, whilst the nation in enthusiastic strains, loudly sang his praises. In the sitting of the tribunate on the 3d Messidor, which took place in consequence of the news respecting the victory at Marengo, and in order to deliberate on the most proper celebration of the same, some patriotic orators did not fail, after many just eulogiums to express their fears and wishes concerning their leader, who was returning crowned with glory. *Daunou* says, “ The battle of Marengo, “ glorious as it is in itself, is still more glorious on “ account of the consequences, which you are entitled “ to expect. It consolidates the power of the republic,

“ gives additional lustre to its government, and security to freedom. It dispels the fears of future institutions incompatible with the genius of the republic. It adds to the joy of the people, the national festival, (the festival day of the republic) which all are to celebrate, and they can now indulge the noblest feelings of the human heart, in the bosom of universal harmony, without the bitter pang of mournful recollections. No ! this liberty, the fruit of so many sacrifices, the price of so many triumphs, never can again be taken away from us.”

*Jean de Brie* endeavours to compare this remarkable victory, (which appeared to strengthen anew the pillars of the republic) and the heroic fall of the noble Dessaix, with the conquest and death of Leonidas and Epaminondas. He adds, “ Who will prevent us, from manifesting our feelings, and by every encouragement exciting a noble display of generous sentiments in republicans, by shewing to them, that the memory of virtuous citizens is engraven on the hearts of their magistrates.”

*Benjamin Constant*, praises in his speech, all the Italian patriots, who were released in consequence of the treaty, after the battle of Marengo. He looks upon it, as a happy foreboding for those who suffered for the cause of liberty in Ireland. He exclaims, “ Honor to all republican proclamations, which sound the language of liberty, of equality, of sovereignty of the people ; this language is worthy of heroes ; some contemptible voices would fain silence, by

“ empty declamation. Hail ! and a joyful welcome  
“ to the highly honoured sacrifices in the glorious  
“ cause, and to the brave out-laws, whom the fate of  
“ the republic calls from subterranean dungeons.  
“ May we follow their example !”

He extols the peace, which he prophecies as a necessary consequence of the victory of Marengo, and exclaims with the utmost animation, and patriotic feeling, “ Peace secures the rights of the individual,  
“ the rights of a whole nation, and the representative  
“ system to futurity. Peace will restore to us the  
“ indispensable liberty of the press, will restore to  
“ reason its innate power, and open to the enlighten-  
“ ed mind, a view to be useful to mankind, and to  
“ promote the noble independence of thought.”

Riouff then exclaims, with republican enthusiasm,  
“ The soldiers of liberty exhibit themselves, as they  
“ have never ceased to do for the last ten years, as  
“ models of patience, and submission, as the bulwark  
“ and pride of their native land. What are the hopes  
“ left to the enemies of the republicans ? What are  
“ the proofs, their policy can demand ? Superior to  
“ the griping pressure of want, and to the temptations  
“ of affluence, on the barren Alps, and in the fruitful  
“ fields of Campania, in misfortunes and success, they  
“ are animated but by one desire,—that of shedding  
“ the last drop of their blood, for this grand object ;  
“ —liberty and equality. Surrounded by raging fac-  
“ tions, dispersed or united, in dungeons or in the



“ curulean seats, their legislators still resound in  
“ their ears, liberty and equality.

“ The revolutionary tempest rages in vain, it can-  
“ not obliterate the sentiment of liberty, of personal  
“ liberty, so deeply rooted in the hearts of men.”  
The republican writers manifested, like Guinguenet,  
their fears more openly. “ The genuine friends of  
“ liberty,” said he, “ are not without fears ; they see  
“ how a party, declaring against all parties, endea-  
“ vours to reign alone ; how it attempts to reintro-  
“ duce all ancient institutions, even those that had  
“ been acknowledged deficient during the monarchy.  
“ They are uneasy, as they cannot see where an end  
“ of the retrogression to those abuses will be, which  
“ crept in with the revolution.—As the men, who  
“ stand at the head of that party, whose existence can  
“ no more be denied, are notorious for their hatred  
“ of every form of republican government, for their  
“ ambition and talents.

“ But the government, which openly declared, that  
“ it would have no party, whose interest it is, not to  
“ throw themselves imprudently into the arms of  
“ those who cajole them first, to stifle them after-  
“ wards : it will shield the republic against the new  
“ danger with which it is threatened. These dan-  
“ gerous men only desired quiet in former times, only  
“ the permission to live unobserved ; but now all will  
“ seize on the first places, will realise their plans and  
“ systems, will subvert all that was before, to restore  
“ it again. Family of Bonaparte ! the republicans



“ place their hopes in you ;—You will repel the clan-  
 “ destine enemies who flatter you now, but do not  
 “ pardon it to have been the supports and even the  
 “ founders of our present government.” Thus spoke  
*Ginguenet*, when the news of the victory of Marengo  
 arrived ; and soon after, when many foreigners, see-  
 ing the universal enthusiasm, feared for the destruc-  
 tion of liberty, he exclaimed, “ Ten years of firm-  
 “ ness, of energy, and of heroism, should have estab-  
 “ lished the opposite opinion. Every interest centres  
 “ in the desire of maintaining the revolutions, and  
 “ establishments. The majority of Frenchmen have  
 “ taken too active a part to recede. Why should  
 “ they now alter their opinion as they see an end to  
 “ all the evils of revolutions—for where disturbances  
 “ take place, vices will manifest themselves, as they  
 “ have arrived to a firm, quiet and happy order of  
 “ things, as genius and victory protect them.”

*Quotation from Jean d'Angely's, “ Bulletin  
 de Paris.”—Vide page 107.*

St. Jean d'Angely, offered in his Bulletin of Paris,  
 an essay on usurpers. After having quoted a passage  
 from a publication, entitled the “ central lodge of  
 genuine freemasons,” to prove that Arminius had not  
 been an usurper, and that the greatest princes had been  
 proud to rank him among their ancestors, though he  
 did not descend from a Cheruskian Monarch, he adds,  
 “ It would be improper to attempt to prove that all

“ governments originally bear the stain of usurpation ;  
“ we must therefore acknowledge the humiliating  
“ truth, that nothing exists in nature, which had not  
“ its origin in a previous dissolution.” He also shews,  
“ That most of those, to whom history applies the  
“ title of usurpers, were such extraordinary characters  
“ as nature only produces at great intervals, to rescue  
“ civil society from overgrown evils.” Yet what are  
the arguments, of which this shameless counsellor of  
state, openly avails himself in the face of a republican  
people ? Hear him ! “ Who has ever dared to ques-  
“ tion the fame of a Deioces. The Medes, his coun-  
“ trymen, living under a republican government,  
“ found themselves assailed by the murderous and fu-  
“ rious attacks of democracy. Deioces, who had led  
“ them to victory, subjects them to laws replete with  
“ wisdom. Rousing them from the dangerous illu-  
“ sions of freedom, which they had never known ;  
“ bold and successful, he allows them to proclaim him  
“ the first King of the Medes. He assembles a splen-  
“ did court around his person, and only shews him-  
“ self to his subjects in royal splendor, whilst he  
“ unites strength and magnificence in his government,  
“ and becomes the founder of the greatest empire in  
“ Asia.”

The wise King Hiero, at whose feet the Syracusi-  
ans laid their tumultuous freedom, is also held out  
as a glorious example. This counsellor very distinct-  
ly explains himself at last. He says, “ Never were  
“ there so many assentient voices upon one political

“ question, collected in Paris, as that of the consulate  
“ for life. You desire a lasting political establish-  
“ ment.—One party begins to think, that a dynasty is  
“ not always of divine origin, that the family of Hugo  
“ Capet, ascending the throne of the Carolovingians  
“ by a revolution, had no other right to it, than that  
“ of possession. Rights of this sort must naturally  
“ cease, when a new order of things is introduced.—  
“ An opposite system would eternize the confusion  
“ in political affairs. The claims of Stanislaus Xavier  
“ are not to be compared with those which the car-  
“ dinal of York possessed to the throne of England.  
“ The commitment of the British government to a  
“ Dutch general in the year 1688, (how cunning, to  
“ call the Prince William of Orange, only a Dutch  
“ general) is a true rebellion still, if the consequen-  
“ ces from certain principles, exclusively applied to  
“ France were also applied to England (how malici-  
“ ous towards England, after the negotiations for  
“ peace had just begun).”

The counsellor prophesies lastly the results of this.  
He says, “ The accession of Bonaparte to a consulate  
“ for life, will be a grand event.—As the best insti-  
“ tutions are those, which proceed from circumstan-  
“ ces ; as the most lasting constitution is that, which  
“ has been sanctioned by time ; it is to be hoped,  
“ that the constitution, roughly drawn on the 18th  
“ Brumaire, will attain its final perfection, and present  
“ to France, a guarantee, eagerly wished for, by all  
“ friends of tranquillity, and domestic happiness.”

*Criticism, passed by the Author, on M. Necker, Condorcet, and Camillie Jourdan's last publications.—Vide page 139.*

The work of M. Necker is written with moderation ; yet had he lived in Paris, he would have neither composed nor published it there :—after the example of Voltaire, who would not have written at Paris what he sent into the world from Ferney ; the man of power and the philosopher must not stand too near each other. Nay, the honest author must not keep the daily company of fortune-hunters, nor draw his pleasures from the same source which is contaminated by effeminate men. Every feeling, every thought is questioned and ridiculed by them : it is thus they endeavour to elude the shafts of his reproof. Of what use can he be to the friend of reading, and to posterity.

Necker must absolutely have lived by himself to be able to write in this manner ; but to be a politician, he ought to have lived with the world. He is evidently unacquainted with the present age, else he would have acknowledged the only good in it, namely, the disposition in man, to compare his own necessities, with the constant wants of mankind. Necker is possessed of sufficient penetration, to point out the present faults, and to propose better institutions. Yet his eye is fixed on the present alone, and in vain would a young reader ask, why should this love of liberty be the incen-

sant mover of men? In vain would the experienced reader inquire, whence may the forms of government proposed by the author, derive solidity? For that politician, who is unable to quote some fundamental institutions of society, on which the public offices and their mutual relations may securely rest, will only complete a building of paper.

This essential point has not been better explained by him, than by all the late bungling constitution-makers of revolutionary states. Where civil liberty existed before, where its enjoyment has produced its perfect knowledge, and an attachment to it, there may the building be completed with ease.

But this good fortune did not fall to the lot of France, and that it might not enjoy it, their architects, instead of laying a solid foundation, pleased themselves in ornamenting the rooms. We know pretty well, whether it be comfortable living in them; but have we examined, whether the convenience of the rooms depend on the antiquity or novelty of the building. Have we examined what must be done first, before we can erect the edifice? Such inquiry may be avoided, by the introduction of a power, which can master all human passion, and in this case, Necker very properly says,

“*La Science des législateurs est inutile dans des pays où l'on demande, que tout soit soumis à la volonté d'un seul : il n'y a plus alors, que des conseils à donner à l'autorité Suprême.*”—Unlimited monarchs have felt, notwithstanding that all institutions



should be the offspring of necessity only. Frederic the Great asks in his "Epître a son esprit,"

- " Mais du pouvoir des rois connoissons l'origine ;
- " Pensez-vous, qu' élevés par une main divine,
- " Leur peuple, leur état, leur ait été commis
- " Comme un troupeau stupide à leurs ordressoumis.

Does he not solve the riddle?—

- " Les crimes effrontés, l'artifice des traitres
- " Forcerent les humains à se donner des maîtres.
- " Thémis arma leur bras de son glaive vengeur
- " Pour inspirer au vice une utile frayeur.

He also adds—

- " D'autres en usurpant un bien illégitime,
- " Devinrent souverains—en prodiguant le crime.

With the work of M. Necker, another publication may be read, to become perfectly acquainted with national improvement, namely, Condorcet's *progrès de l'esprit humain*. Both publications have their merit ; both authors have a penetrating eye, and wish for the public good. But the basest hireling of a marketing bookseller in Germany, would not have dared to pass by the fundamental principle in ethics without noticing it, like Condorcet. He would have deduced, in the first work, all rights and duties from human nature, to shew, that no society of civilized men can renounce them, from mere prudence, and unqualified submission. As indifferent as the German execution experiment might have turned out, it would have had a solid basis at least, and the nation would not have



suffered any body to force upon them a meaner one. It is not so with our more cultivated neighbours, who excel us in many respects. Solidity is not always their chief care, and if men determine too rashly, they will often be disgusted. Yet, as long as we remain undetermined, we are in danger of erring, when we think ourselves most in the right.

Thus M. Necker, for instance, refutes the known aristocratical saying, "*Rien par, et tout pour le peuple,*" (nothing by the means of the people, but all for the people,) by the manifest impossibility of its execution; yet of this maxim, (supposing the possibility of following it,) he says, "*C'est à merveille.*" It is, as if good fortune and right, accidental enjoyments, and well earned property, were one and the same thing. As if it were enough for a people to be well governed only. As if it were unnecessary for the people to take any share in government. A comfortable situation ought to be made to mankind, but why enlighten the people? The latter privilege may remain the prerogative of a few favorites of nature in its most limited state, limited as it always will be. The philanthropic Necker would certainly not maintain such a doctrine; yet does he not?

The liberal cultivation of the human mind for liberty, and its permanence, by a republican government, secured against all despotic infringement, has been defended by a cotemporary writer, Camille Jourdan, in his pamphlet on the true sense with which the nation has given its voice on the consulate

for life. His arguments are weak, yet the pamphlet has the merit of having made its appearance at a time, when all France was silent, though the grand majority of the nation were against the measure.—Camille published it soon after the closing of the lists ; not to prevent the First Consul from receiving this great proof of national gratitude, but to remind him of what he owed the nation for their gift, and what the nation, or rather he and his equals, expected from Bonaparte. He supposed, perhaps, to find the ambition of a prudent state minister in the proud despot, and to tickle his vanity in the French style. He was childish enough to believe, that his words would not be lost with the First Consul, and therefore noticed every thing which the Constitution of the 18th Brumaire still wanted ; to render and secure that liberty to the French, for which they had so long struggled and suffered, and which they anxiously desired. And this is nothing less than the complete personal security of citizens, which puts a stop to all former arbitrary imprisonments, and deportations ; the full enjoyment of liberty ; the responsibility of ministers and officers of state ; the independence of judicial proceedings ; a well constituted municipality, chosen by the communities ; the genuine freedom of speech, and liberty of the press ; regular, uninfluenced elections ; two houses of parliament, carefully and wisely constituted ; reduction of the army to its proper bounds ; a genuine militia, as the bulwark of property and liberty ; a legal regulation, respecting the success

sion to the highest magistracy, in case of death, and no family heir.

This man, who had the good of the Republic at heart, has here stated before hand, not only the very objects which Bonaparte never has aimed at, since his accession to the consulate for life, but also those salutary regulations, which he has annihilated by his *senatus consultum*. The good republican has thus informed the proud despot of every thing, which might prepare an obstacle to his designs, and must therefore be removed.

Smooth and respectful as his expressions were, they did not perhaps stop the bold usurper in his rash career. Master and servants made a jest of his publication ; they prohibited its circulation, but did not confiscate the copies ; and it was doubtful, whether the author had obtained this prohibition, in order to increase the sale of it, or whether government meant it really so. All official prints abused it with greater malice than that of M. Necker.

*A quotation from M. Talleyrand's earlier publication on Lotteries, vide page 164.*

He says, “ Certes, lorsque les yeux de l'assemblée nationale se porteront sur les loteries, elle appercevra dans un instant, que cette invention execrable, destinée a choquer tous les principes de la morale au même degré, où elle viole toutes les proportions de l'arithmétique honnête, frappe le peuple,

“ dont les mœurs et la substance sont incessamment  
“ menacées, détruit le gout du travail, introduit la  
“ fraude et l’infidélité, engendre les vols, les assassi-  
“ nats, les forfaits ; et chose horrible ! Elle offre le  
“ hideux spectacle d’un gouvernement exerçant le plus  
“ vil des escamotages ; et mettant l’innocence, le  
“ bien être des hommes au miserable prix de quelques  
“ millions.

*Quotations from Mirabeau’s translation of a  
work, that appeared in England many years  
back, under the title, “ Essay on the Order  
of Cincinnatus.”*

“ L’institution de l’ordre de Cincinnatus est la créa-  
“ tion d’un véritable patriciat, et d’une noblesse mili-  
“ taire, qui ne tardera point à devenir une noblesse  
“ civile et une aristocratie d’autant plus dangereuse,  
“ qu’ étant héréditaire, elle s’ accroitra sans cesse par  
“ le tems, et se fortifiera même par les prejuges, qu’elle  
“ fera naître ; qu’ etant née hors de la constitution  
“ et des loix, les loix n’ont pas pourvû aux moyens de  
“ la reprimer, et qu’elle pesera sans cesse sur la con-  
“ stitution dont elle ne fait point partie ; jusqu’a ce  
“ que par des attaques tantôt sourdes et tantôt ouver-  
“ tes, elle y soit mêlée en s’y incorporant, ou qu’ après  
“ l’avoir long tems minée, elle l’ébranle à la fin et la  
“ détruise.

“ Les familles patriciennes (à Rome) ayant réuni  
“ dans leurs mains la puissance du monarque et l’in-

“fluence de la noblesse, chaque patricien devint un  
“Tarquin ; et Rome n’eut pas plus qu’ auparavant  
“sa liberté politique ; avec cette différence, que la  
“tyrannie résida désormais dans un corps : et mille  
“tyrants sont un fléau mille fois plus horrible et plus  
“redoutable qu’ un seul tyran, &c.”

*He also explains the origin of modern Nobility  
in Europe.*

“La noblesse modern de l’Europe, qu’ étoit elle  
“dans son origine ? Des chefs de guerriers féroces,  
“qui joignoient la barbarie de la victoire à celle des  
“mœurs, dont les premiers titres furent l’usurpation  
“et le brigandage, et qui ne fondèrent leur préemi-  
“nence au-dessus de leur nation, que sur le droit de  
“commander, qu’ ils exerçoient dans leurs combats.  
“C’est de là qu’est sortie cette foule de Comtes, de  
“Ducs, de Marquis, qui ont inondé et ravagé l’Eu-  
“rope. Tous ces titres de la vanité humaine n’étoi-  
“ent dans les premiers tems que des titres militaires,  
“qui marquoient les différens degrés de commande-  
“ment ; mais ces mêmes titres sont devenus bientôt  
“des distinctions et des privileges éclatant dans l’ or-  
“dre civil. Bientôt ils ont fondé cette féodalité bar-  
“bare, qui, pendant des siècles, à avili le genre hu-  
“main.”



*He shews the ridiculous, low, and superstitious origin of Orders and their Insignia.*

“ Le mépris même, qui devoit s’attacher à leur origine n’a pu empêcher l’orgueil et la misérable vanité de l’homme, de les embrasser avidement. Ils sont devenus un nouveau signe d’inégalité ; une nouvelle marque qui, au gré du caprice, établit encore des rangs et des barrières dans les états, où la classe ordinaire des citoyens est déjà surchargée, et flétrie de tant de distinctions civiles. Ils ont créé des rangs jusques dans la noblesse, fondé un nouveau patriciat dans le patriciat, un nouvel orgueil dans l’orgueil, et de nouveaux moyens d’oppression, dans l’oppression. Une partie de ces patriciens si fiers, de ces descendans de guerriers et d’anciens tyrans du peuple, est devenue elle même une espèce de peuple, par rapport à ceux de leur ordre que la faveur du prince, le hazard, le bonheur de plaire, ou une obéissance servile aux caprices des cours, ont décorés de ces signes imposans.”

*Quotation from M. Thomas Mally’s Speech,  
“ Eloge de Marc-Aurel.”*

M. Thomas exclaimed, with enthusiasm, “ La liberté est le premier droit de l’homme, le droit de n’obéir qu’ aux loix et de ne craindre qu’ elles. Malheur à l’ esclave qui craindrait de prononcer son nom ! Malheur au pays où le prononcer seroit un



“ crime !—L’homme, né libre, mais avec le besoin  
 “ d’être gouverné, s’étoit soumis à des loix, jamais  
 “ aux caprices d’un maître ; nul homme n’a le droit  
 “ de commander arbitrairement à un autre ; qui usurpe  
 “ ce pouvoir, détruit son pouvoir même.—La loi est  
 “ tout : la constitution des états peut changer ; les  
 “ droits du citoyen sont toujours les mêmes. Ils sont  
 “ indépendants et de l’ambitieux qui usurpe, et du  
 “ lâche qui se vend ; fondés sur la nature, ils sont in-  
 “ altérables comme elle.”

*After the Author’s reasoning on the Pope’s  
 Bulls in Switzerland.*

A different fate would have awaited Switzerland, if it had paid attention to the patriotic appeals of one of its noblest and most enlightened fellow citizens twenty years ago. S. Muller, in his history of that country, made the following remark : “ Every nation, however  
 “ just and peaceful it may be, in the course of the  
 “ multifarious political changes, may unexpectedly  
 “ be called upon to exhibit its value to the world.—  
 “ But how when it sleeps ! The great views of policy  
 “ are lost sight of during a long continued peace ;  
 “ the foundations of constitutions begin to decay :  
 “ The wisdom of our ancestors degenerates into pre-  
 “ judices, and disturbances of some consequences ex-  
 “ cite but little alarm. Jealous of each other, the  
 “ different Cantons lose sight of the general good,  
 “ and are guided by the pitiful motives of self-inter-  
 “ est ; Thus monarchies fall into decay.—A state,

“ which raised itself to that dignity, by extraordinary  
“ virtues alone, dares not forget itself. It is incalculable what men can accomplish, and to what height they may raise themselves, if they feel unshackled. The spirit of your forefathers, whose seats you now fill, demand from your wisdom a consolidation of our mutual bonds, by an unceasing war against selfishness and unpatriotic designs ; he calls upon the first and wisest among you to set the glorious example. Nothing great nor good can be obtained without it ; but it cannot be accomplished unless you abstain from preventing the dissemination of knowledge, (which is hateful) ; unless you abstain from attempts to suppress it, (which would be unavailing) ; unless you guide it with superior wisdom. If it be true, (and who will doubt it) that our morals depend on our ideas ; that on the former, on our oath, on industry and self-denial, the existence of our Republic alone depends. What would the world say and think, if it observed, that the mode of our public instructions were not freed from all former catholic, scholastic, and controversial stains ; if no instruction of the history of other Republics, no national spirit, no national peculiarity were to be found among ourselves, during a period, when it cannot be secure for a moment, without the highest patriotic zeal :—The world would say, we desire the object, but not the means.”

*F I N I S.*

JUL 24 1945









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